INDO-ARYANS.

INDO-ARYANS:

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE ELUCIDATION

OF THEIR

ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.

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THE Imperial Assemblage to be held at Delhi on the 1st of next month cannot fail to recall to the mind of oriental scholars the description, given in the Mahábhárata, of a similar gathering held there about four thousand years ago. Then, as now, the object was the assumption of paramount power by a mighty sovereign. Then, as now, princes and potentates came from all parts of India to do homage to one who was greatly their superior in power, wealth, and earnest devotion to rule honestly and impartially. Then, as now, the feeling of allegiance was all but universal. But noteworthy as these points of similitude are, there are others which place the two assemblages in marked contrast. The one was held by men who had barely emerged from a state of primitive simplicity in the infancy of human society; the other is to be inaugurated under all

the refinements and paraphernalia of the highest civilization. The one borrowed all its sanctity from religion ; the other depends for its glory on political and material greatness. The one was purely national ; the other brings into the field a dominant foreign power. There are other points, equally remarkable, both of similitude and of divergence, which afford singular illustrations of the state of political ideas at immensely remote periods ; and a short account of the ancient ceremonial may not, therefore, be uninteresting at the present time.

The ceremony, in ancient times, was called the *Rájasúya*, or that which can be effected only by a king—from *Rájan* 'a king' and *shu* 'to be effected.' This derivation, however, is not universally accepted. Some interpret the term to mean the ceremony at which the *Soma* juice is produced, from *rájá* 'moon' for the moon-plant, and *su* 'to bring forth' ; but as there are a hundred different rites at which the brewing of the *Soma* beer is an essential requirement, while it is distinctly laid down, that none but a king who can command the allegiance of a large number of tributory princes, and who is, or wishes to be,* a universal monarch, exercising supremacy over a large number of princes, should perform it, the first derivation appears to be the right one,—at least it conveys an idea of the true character of the ceremony, which the other does not. Yájnikadeva, in his commentary on the S'rauta S'utra of Kátyáyana, explains the word *rájá* in the first aphorism on the subject, to mean a Kshatríya,† without specifying that he should be a king, and this may at first sight suggest the idea that any Kshatríya, whether a soveriegn or not, may perform it ; but the context shows clearly that a king was a *sine qua non*, and none but a king could undertake the rite. According to the S'ástras,

* राजा स्वाराज्यकामो राजसूयेन यजेत । Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa.

† राज्ञ राजसूयः ॥ १ ॥ स चायं राजशब्दः क्षत्रियजातिनिमित्तः ।

none but a Kshatríya was fit for royalty, and the use of the word *rájan* both for a king and a man of the Kshatríya caste was so common, that in interpreting it, in particular passages the context is always looked upon as the safest guide to its true meaning. If we assume, however, that Kátyáyana wished only to indicate the caste of the performer, with a view to exclude the other castes, without caring to point out his political position, the interpretation of the scholiast would be open to no exception.

From its very nature a ceremony like the Rájasúya could not be common anywhere, or at any time, much less during the Hindu period, when India was never held by a single monarch. It was then divided into many kingdoms, principalities and chiefships, each enjoying perfect autonomy, and entertaining more or less jealousy, not unoften amounting to hostility, or even violent animosity, against each other, and a universal sovereignty like that of the autocrat of Russia was perfectly impossible. The language of praise or flattery has doubtless often declared particular sovereigns to have been *Chakravartins* or emperors; but the reality, as regards the whole of India, was never accomplished. It is unquestionable that in rare instances, such as those of Chandragupta and As'oka, many sovereigns acknowledged subordination to some mighty monarch or other, and the weaker ones paid tribute, but their autonomy was rarely sacrificed, and their alliances generally bore the character of confederacies, or federal union, and not that of feudal baronies subject to a ruling chief, and under no circumstances were servile duties such as under the feudal system the Barons in Europe were obliged to render their suzerains, ever exacted from the tributaries. The bond between them was, besides, of the feeblest kind, and snapt at every favourable opportunity. In the Vedic period even such monarchic federation on a very large scale were any thing but common, and the rite of *Mahábhisheka*,

or imperial baptism, which follows the Rájasúya, was administered to only a few. The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Ṛig Veda affords a curious illustration of this fact. After describing the ritual of the Mahábhisheka, with a view to point out its high importance, the author of the work gives a list of the persons who had been inaugurated by that rite, and of the priests who officiated thereat, and it includes only ten names.* The list does not, it is true, profess to be exhaustive; but the necessity felt for such a list and its meagreness suffice to show, that the rite was but rarely performed, and even the knowledge of its ritual among the priesthood was not common. The Rámáyaṇa describes the rite as celebrated by Rámachandra, but there is no description of it in any later work; and no manual for its performance has yet been met with.

The description of the Rájasúya in the Mahábhárata is a popular poetical one, loaded with much that is mythical, and a considerable amount of exaggeration; but it is the best known all over India, and comprises the fullest account of its exoteric characteristics. Yudhisṭhira, the hero of it, lived, according to Hindu chronology, in the last century of the third cycle, or the Dvápara Yuga, *i. e.*, five thousand one hundred and fifty years ago; but recent researches of oriental scholars are not very favorable to his claim to so remote an antiquity. A careful study of the lists of ancient kings given in the Puráṇas, allowing an average reign of sixteen years to each king, would bring him to the twentieth century before the

* The list includes the following names: 1. Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, inaugurated by Taru, son of Kavasha. 2. Sáryáta, son of Manu, anointed by Chyavana, son of Bhṛigu. 3. Somas'ushmá, son of Vájaratna, by S'atánika, son of Satrujit. 4. Ambashṭya, by Parvata and Nárada. 5. Yudháms'áraushṭi, son of Ugrasena, by Parvata and Nárada. 6. Vis'vakarmá, son of Bhuvana, by Kás'yapa. 7. Sudása, son of Pujavana, by Vas'ishṭha. 8. Marutta, son of Aṅgiras. 9. Anga *alias* Alopáṅga by Udamaya, son of Atri. 10. Bharata, son of Dushyanta, by Dirghatamas, the son of an unmarried woman.

Christian era. But even this is not unquestionable. On the other hand the existence, in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, of the name of Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, who is evidently the same with the sovereign named in the Mahábhárata, and the grandson of Arjuna, brother of Yudhishṭhira, would force the inference that he lived long before that portion of the Ṛig Veda came into existence; and the lowest estimate possible appears to be somewhat over sixteen centuries before the era of Christ.

Yudhishṭhira and his four brothers lost their father Páṇḍu,* king of Hastinápura, at an early age; and during their minority the management of their paternal state fell into the hands of their uncle Dhritaráshṭra, under whose guardianship they were brought up. Dhritaráshṭra was senior to Páṇḍu, and would have, under ordinary circumstances, inherited the principality of Hastinápura. But as he was born blind, his claims were set aside, according to Hindu law, in favour of his younger brother. The principality having, however, come to his hands during the miniority of his nephews, court intrigue was brought into play, when the youths came of age, to prevent their coming into possession of even a portion of their patrimony. The sons of Dhritaráshṭra were most inimical to them, and domestic dissensions were frequent and serious. To prevent these unseemly disputes the Páṇḍava brothers were sent away to Váraṇávrata,† where, it was thought, they would be beyond the reach of their intriguing cousins. But those who interested themselves in the welfare of the Páṇḍavas were doomed to disappointment. The place, which the five brothers and their

* The word means "pale yellow," and is ordinarily used to indicate jaundice. Mr. Wheeler opines that it is a euphemism for white leprosy, but there is nothing to justify the theory. Kuntí is said to have selected him from out of a whole host of princes at a grand sayañvara; and no damsel is ever likely to select a leper for her consort.

† Supposed by some to be modern Allahabad, by others, and more correctly, a town to the north of Karnál.

mother occupied at Váraṇávrata, was, one night, set on fire, and they had to fly for life, and, for some time after, to keep themselves secreted in jungle and unfrequented places, or roam about as beggars. At last they effected an alliance with the powerful king Drupada of Panchála (modern Kanauj), whose daughter they married at a Sayañvara, and through his influence and that of their cousin-german Kṛishṇa, obtained a small tract of land for their share with the town of Indraprastha for their capital. Here they established themselves, and laid the foundation of what afterwards became a mighty empire.

Close by Indraprastha, there happened to be a large forest,* which the Páṇḍavas burnt down and cleared, and by dint of perseverance, and gradual encroachment on the possessions of their less energetic neighbours, raised their little tract of land to the rank and position of a respectable

* The existence of this forest has suggested to Mr. Wheeler the idea of Delhi, or the country about it, having been an outpost of the Aryans in India at the time of the Páṇḍavas, and the whole of his criticisms on the Mahábhárata is based upon this major. That there were many forests in the country four thousand years ago, is a truism which none can venture to question, but there is no valid reason to suppose that the Kháṇḍava forest was the *ultima thule* of the Aryans at the time in question. The line of argument which has brought the learned author to this conclusion, could be appealed to with great effect, to show that the jungle of Chataurá, near Jagadispur, in which the mutineers under Kumár Singh, found a shelter, was the outpost of the English Ráj in 1858. To save his position, the author has been obliged to denounce the whole of the geography of the Mahábhárata as after-thoughts. The poet says that Bhíshma got into his chariot, went to Kás'í, and brought the three daughters of the king of that place, as brides for his younger brother, and the critic exclaims, " Kás'í is 500 miles from Hastinápur," and as no one could make the journey so easily and without attendants, the place meant must be a village in the neighbourhood of Hastinápur; as if it was absolutely necessary for a poet to give in detail the number of the attendants, the places where they halted, and the stages they travelled over. Chand, in the 12th century, with nearly as much laconic brevity, makes his hero Prithviráj travel to Kanauj from Delhi on a like mission, and it was crowned with equal success. It is not likely that any historian will question the truth of the elopement of the Princess of Kanauj.

principality. Alliances with some of the aboriginal races also helped them to rise in power ; and the extension of their possessions towards the west and the south-west, where they met with little opposition, soon enabled them to assume a high position among the crowned heads of India. A magnificent palace, called a *Sabhá* or 'audience chamber', was next built in the capital, and it proved to be the finest work of art that had ever been produced in this country. A Titan (Dánava) was its architect, and it was enriched with the most precious materials that could be collected from the different parts of India, including some highly-prized stones from the Himálaya. Its description refers to floors of crystal, partitions of glass, and marbles of all colours; to spacious and lofty apartments; doors and windows; terraces and gardens; artificial lakes and fountains. Much of this is doubtless due to the poet's imagination; but there was, nevertheless, enough to make the owner proud of its possession, and to long to show it to his rivals. To inaugurate it by a grand festival was the first idea that occurred to his mind, and that suggested the ambitious scheme of celebrating the politico-religious sacrifice of the Rájasúya, and raising the principality to the rank of an empire.

This was, however, not an easy task to accomplish. Close by, to the north, there was Hastinápura, the capital of their ancestors, in the possession of their inveterate enemies the Kurus. To the east, Mathurá was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south, the king of Málava was a standing menace, and to the west there was the principality of Viráṭa,* which would not in a hurry yield to its neighbours. There were, besides, other mighty sovereigns in different parts of

* The modern Bengal districts of Rangpur and Dinájpur to the north claim to be the ancient Viráṭa, but the cattle-lifting foray of the Kurus in the country of Viráṭa, described in the Viráṭa Parva of the Mahábhárata, leaves no doubt as to the true position of that country having been as given above.

India who were proud of their high position, and not at all disposed to succumb to what to them was a new-born and petty Ráj.

The most powerful king at the time, however, was Jarásandha, sovereign of Magadha. He had carried his victorious arms as far as Mathurá, and expelled therefrom the Yádavas, who had wrested it from a relative of his. His army was the largest and best-trained; and he had already imprisoned ninety-seven princes with a view, when the number came up to a hundred and twelve, to offer them as a sacrifice to the gods, by way of a preliminary to his raising the white umbrella of imperial sovereignty. For the Páṇḍavas to wage war against him, with any hope of success, was out of the question, and no one in India could proclaim himself an emperor without bringing on a most desolating retribution from that monarch.

To remove Jarásandha from the field by other than open warfare was, therefore, the first scheme to which the Páṇḍavas set their head, and assassination was resolved upon as the only means feasible. Disguised as Bráhmaṇs, Bhíma, Arjuna, and Kṛishṇa set out for Magadha, and, entering the palace by a back door, took him unawares, while he was engaged in his prayers, and killed him. The Mahábhárata gives a long account of the interview, and says, he was challenged to a single combat, and fell under the blows of Bhíma, the "wolf-stomached" hero *(Vṛikodara.)* But this appears to be a euphemism for assassination, inasmuch as the Páṇḍavas were ever after accused of baseness for it, and no baseness could be predicated of a hero who challenged another to a single combat. However that may have been, it enabled the Páṇḍavas to liberate the imprisoned chieftains, and, not only at once to secure to themselves their loyal adherence, but also to obtain a great accession of power and influence in different parts of India.

Four grand military expeditions were next organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the army of the North, and, proceeding on, successively conquered, or otherwise brought into subjugation, the Kulindas, the Kálakúṭas, the Avarthas and the S'ákala-dvípís. Thence he proceeded to Prágjyotisha, where he had to wage a protracted war against Bhagadatta, its king, who was ultimately obliged to purchase peace by the payment of a handsome tribute. Ascending the Himálaya, he encountered many petty chieftains, including those of Uluka, Modápura, Vainadeva, Sudáman, Susankula, North Uluka, Devaprastha, and other places,—mostly robber chiefs,—as also the Kirátas and the Chínas. Turning then towards the west, he pushed on his victorious army through Káshmír to Balkh, burning and sacking several large towns in the way. Then turning back, he passed through Kámboja, Darada, and Uttara-ṛishika from all which places he obtained highly-prized horses as tribute, and arrived at the foot of the Dhavalagiri, where he rested for a while. Then he crossed the Himálaya and encountered the sovereigns of Kimpilla-varsha and Hálaka, the last in the neighbourhood of the Mánasarovara Lake; and lastly approached the confines of Uttara-kuru, which was inhabited by Gandharvas, the fabled choristers of Indra's heaven. Here he was met by ambassadors, who purchased peace for their sovereign by a present of some rich stuffs, jewels, valuable furs, and silken dresses.

The second expedition was headed by Bhíma, who proceeded to the east, taking in the way the country of his father-in-law Drupada in the Doab of the Ganges and the Yamuná. The ncrossing the Ganges he went southwards to Dasárṇa, and, taking the Pulindas in the way, arrived at Chedi, the country of S'is'upála, who being related to the Páṇḍavas, readily acknowledged subordination, and paid a

handsome tribute. Bhíma tarried at this place for a month, and then marched on successively to Kos'ala, Ayodhyá, Uttara Kos'ala, Mulla, and the Terai, whence descending down he conquered the king of Kás'í. His next encounter was with the Matsyas, then successively with the Maladas, Madadháras, the Vatsabhumíyas, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Varmakas, and several Kiráta and other races, which he conquered, and, making an alliance with the king of Mithilá (Videha), came down to Magadha to collect tribute, having on a former occasion destroyed its valiant king, Jarásandha. The son of Jarásandha joined his army along with several minor chiefs, and with them he proceeded to the country of his half-brother Karṇa, (Bhágalpur,) who was always inimical to the Páṇḍavas, and waged a protracted war in defence of his rights. But his efforts were of no avail, and he was ultimately made to negociate for peace by the payment of a heavy indemnity. Bengal and its numerous petty chiefs next attracted the attention of Bhíma, and they were all overpowered and obliged to enrich the conqueror with large contributions of gold, silver, jewels, sandal-wood, agallochum, wool, and rich stuffs.

The army of the South, under Sahadeva, first overpowered the king of Mathurá, and then, proceeding through the northern parts of country now owned by Sindhia, in which it encountered and subjugated many hostile chiefs, came to the country of Kuntíbhoja. This aged monarch was the foster-father of Kuntí, the mother of the three elder Páṇḍavas; he welcomed the general with every mark of consideration, and readily entered into the scheme of his eldest grandson to assume the imperial title. He gave much wealth and valuable assistance in pushing on the expedition with success. Crossing the Chambal, Sahadeva came face to face with the crown-prince of Jambhaka, an old enemy of Krishṇa. What the name of the prince was or of his country,

is not given, but the prince was powerful and fought with great courage. He was, however, ultimately overpowered, and made to render homage and to pay an indemnity.* The Narmadá was next crossed, and Sahadeva, in his victorious march, successively made a lot of petty princes to acknowledge his supremacy, until he reached the Pandyan kingdom, which held him at bay for a time. Kishkindá proved even more troublesome, and a treaty of amity and friendship was all that could be extorted from it. Beyond Kishkindá was the country of Mahisamati (probably Mysore) which was owned by a chief of great valour, who was especially favoured by the god Agni, who had seduced a daughter of the king, and afterwards married her, and promised protection to his father-in-law. Sahadeva and his army were no match for this mighty chief, and Agni so befriended his protegé by raining fire on every side that the assailants were well-nigh overpowered. At this juncture Sahadeva sought the protection of Agni, and through his intervention effected a treaty of peace and friendship. The story of Agni affords an instance of the use of fire-arms in ancient times, and also a hint about the Nair custom of women not living under the protection of their husbands, but of cavaliers of their own choice; for in order to wipe off the stigma on the character of the princess, Agni, says the story, had ordained that women in Mahisamatí should ever after lead a wanton life in public *(Aváraṇiyá)* independently of their husbands.

Proceeding further south from Mahisamatí, Sahadeva subjugated several petty chiefs, as also several one-eyed, one-legged, or otherwise deformed races, described in the orthodox style of traveller's stories, and thence, through ambassadors, secured the allegiance of Draviḍa, Sarabhipaṭṭanam, Támra island, Timiñgila, or the country of the whale, Kaliñga, Andhra, Uḍra, Kerala, Tálavana, Ceylon, and other places.

On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzaráṭ where he met Kṛishṇa and the other Yádava chiefs, and finally returned home, loaded with immense wealth and many valuable presents.

Nakula, at the head of the army of the West, first went to Rohitaka ; thence towards southern Rájpútáná to Mahettha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambashṭha, Málava, Paṉchakarphaṭas, Mádhyamaka, Vaṭadhána ; and, then retracing his steps to Pushkara, and next the Abhira country on the banks of the Sarasvatí, he marched on to the Punjáb, to the western frontier of which he encountered the Pahnavas, Varvaras, Kirátas, Yavanas, and the S'akas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents, and acknowledgment of allegiance.

In making the above abstract of the progress of the different armies, I have omitted several names of places and persons, and also used words to indicate directions which do not always occur in the original. The routes, as laid down in the Mahábhárata, are not always such as an invading army would, or conveniently could, take in its progress from Indraprastha, and many reasons suggest themselves to show that the poet was not quite familiar with the places he describes. Some of the discrepancies, however, may be due to my inability to identify the several places named, and to the possibility of there having existed more than one place of the same name, one of which is known to me, and the other not. Several districts in northern and eastern Bengal now claim to be the same with places named in the Mahábhárata, but which probably have no right to the pretension. In a few cases, there are two or three claimants for the same ancient name. As it is, however, not my intention here to enter into a critical analysis, but simply to quote the substance of what has been said, in connexion with the Rájasúya, in the Mahábhárata, by way of introduction to the rituals of the sacrifice as given

in the Vedas, I need say nothing further on the subject. Those who are curious about the places named, and about the articles alleged to have been presented as tribute, which, to a certain extent, help the identification of those places, will find much interesting matter in the late Professor Lassen's learned essay on the Geography of the Mahábhárata, in the Göttingen Oriental Journal, and in Professor Wilson's paper on the Sabhá-parva, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

On the return of the different expeditionary armies, a consultation was held as to the propriety of immediately commencing the ceremony, or deferring it to a future occasion. Kṛishṇa advised immediate action, and agreed to take upon himself the task of arranging everything for a successful issue. It was accordingly resolved that the ceremony should at once begin. Orders were thereupon issued to collect all the articles necessary for the rite, and invitations were sent out to all relatives, friends, allies and tributaries, the messengers being instructed to request the attendance of Vais'yas and "all respectable S'údras." Nakula was deputed to the old king Dhritaráshṭra, the head of the family, to invite him and other Kaurava chiefs to grace the assembly by their presence; and ample provision was at the same time made for the accommodation and entertainment of the expected guests. The Bráhmaṇs were expected to come in from all parts of the country, and every one was to be received with due honour, and to be rewarded with rich presents. The invitations to the Vais'yas and the S'údras, the agricultural and the servile classes, at a religious ceremony, and the use of the epithet *mánya* "respectable" or "venerable" as a predicate for individuals of the class originally formed of helots, are worthy of special note. "This is", says Professor Wilson, "one of the numerous indications which the Mahábhárata offers of a state of public feeling and possibly of civil insti-

tutions which seems to have preceded even the laws of Manu."*

The most important business in connexion with the sacrifice was the appointment of duly qualified priests, and the most renowned sages of the time were solicited to take parts in the grand ceremonial. Krishṇa-dvaipáyana Vyása, the natural father of both the Kurus and the Páṇḍavas, who was renowned for his thorough knowledge of the Vedas which he had arranged and classified himself, took the part of Brahmá or high priest. Susámá, of the Dhananjaya clan, was appointed the chief of Sáma singers. Yájnavalkya, the great law-giver, was installed as Adhvaryu or the chief of the Yajur Vedic priests. Paila, son of Kasu, and Dhaumya, the family priest of Yudhishṭhira, undertook the duty of pouring out the oblations on the sacred fire *(hotá)*; while a host of their pupils and others were employed to act as assistants and assessors to watch the proceedings and correct mistakes *(sadasya.)*

"In due course and at the proper time, Yudhishṭhira was initiated into the ceremony by the assembled priests, and thus initiated and attended by his brothers and surrounded by thousands of Bráhmaṇs, relatives, friends, officers of State, and princes from different countries, he, resplendent as the incarnation of Dharma, entered the Sacrificial Hall. Learned Bráhmaṇs, versed in the Vedas and the Vedáñgas, flocked from all parts of the country. Architects had, under the king's orders, erected suitable abodes for them, and those abodes had beautiful awnings on the top, and were replete with furniture and articles of food and

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* Journal, Rl. As. Soc., VII., 138. In Mr. Wheeler's version the epithets *sarván mányán* "all respectable," are placed against both the Vais'yas and the S'údras, but the construction of the sentence requires that they should apply to the S'údras only, showing that the three twice-born classes were all welcome, whereas of the unregenerate S'údras, the "respectable" alone were admissible.

drink fit for all seasons of the year. Receiving the welcome of the king, the Bráhmaṇs dwelt therein, and passed their time in entertaining conversation, in witnessing charming dances, and in listening to sweet music. The hum of Bráhmaṇs, full to satiety, fond of stories, and jubilant with delight, resounded every where. "Give away, and eat away," were the words which burst forth from every side. The virtuous king provided for each of his guests thousands of cows, bedding, gold, and damsels. Thus did proceed the ceremony of the unrivalled and virtuous sovereign of the earth, the great Páṇḍava, who was like unto Indra, the lord of the immortals."* The provision of damsels for the service of Bráhmaṇ guests, reveals a curious feature in the manners, customs, and morality of the time under notice.

The list of crowned heads which assembled at the ceremony is a long one, but as it includes mostly the names of those who were subjugated by the brothers of Yudhishṭhira, and of the friends and relatives of the host, it is not necessary to reproduce it here. The leading chiefs of the Kaurava and the Yádava tribes were the most prominent among the guests. "To the guests were assigned dwellings replete with refreshments of every kind, and having by them charming lakes, and ranges of ornamental plants. The son of Dharma welcomed them in due form. After the reception, the princes repaired to the several houses assigned for their accommodation. Those houses were lofty as the peaks of the Kailás'a mountain, most charming in appearance, and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded by well-built high walls of a white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices, and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent; the rooms were furnished with commodious seats and clothing and garlands; and the whole was redolent with the perfume of the finest agallochum.

* Mahábhárata, Book II, chapter 32.

The houses were white as the goose, bright as the moon, and looked picturesque, even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstruction, provided with doors of uniform height, but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments, even as the peak of the Himálaya. The princes were refreshed by the very sight of the mansions."*

With a view to prevent disorder, and to enforce discipline and the due despatch of business, Yudhishṭhira so arranged that each department of the ceremony should be placed under one of his principal relatives, or of a friend. To see to the proper distribution of food was the task assigned to Duhs'asana, brother of Duryodhana. To As'vathámá, "a warrior Bráhmaṇ of saintly descent," was assigned the duty of attending to the reception and entertainment of Bráhmaṇs, and to Sanjaya the same duty with reference to the regal and military guests. The venerable old chief Bhíshma and the equally venerable chief Droṇa were solicited to act as superintendents-general, and to see that nothing went amiss. To Kṛipa, "another saintly personage," fell the duty of distributing presents of gold and jewels. Báhlika, Dhritaráshṭra, Somadatta, and Jayadratha, were requested to act as masters of the ceremony; Duryodhana was requested to see to the due receipt of the presents and tributes brought by the assembled guests; and Kṛishṇa undertook to wash the feet of the Bráhmaṇs.

Passing over some fulsome panegyric on the profusion of wealth brought by the tributaries, and the lavish way in which it was distributed among Bráhmaṇs and others, we come to the last day of the ceremony, when Yudhishṭhira sat amidst the assembled guests in imperial magnificence, ready to receive the homage of all as the sovereign lord of India. The enthusiasm all round was overflowing, and the praises of the great chief resounded on every side. The priests had

* Mahábhárata, chapter 33.

poured their last oblations on the sacred fire, and all eyes were turned towards "the observed of all observers," "the cynosure of every eye," to behold the crowning act of this majestic ceremony, the acknowledgment of allegiance to the noble chieftain. Bhíshma, at this moment, rose from his seat, and, advancing to the foot of the throne, addressed the chieftain, saying, "It is your duty, O chief, first to show your respect to the assembled guests. Six are the persons who receive, on such occasions, that mark of respect, the *arghya*; and these are the tutor, the chief priest, the brother-in-law, the sprinkler of the holy water, the king, and the dearest friend. They have all assembled here, and abided with us for a year; let an *arghya* be prepared for each of them, and it is for you to select whom you would honour most."*

The offering proposed was not a part of the religious ceremony, but a mark of social distinction, and it consisted of flowers, sandal paste, a few grains of rice and a few blades of Durva grass sprinkled with water. From what time this offering has been current in this country, it is impossible now accurately to determine; but there is no doubt that it has been known from a very early period, for it is named in old ritualistic works as an offering meet for gods. Ordinarily this is preceded by another offering called *Pádya*, or water for washing the feet. To a guest coming from a distance nothing is more refreshing in a hot climate, like that of India, than a wash, and essences and flowers immediately after it, cannot but be grateful. And what were at first necessities soon assumed the character of formal ceremonial acts, and to this day the offerings are regularly made in the orthodox form to bridegrooms and priests. In a modified form the *arghya* appears under the name of *málaya-chandana* or "flower garlands and sandal paste," which are offerd to all guests on several ceremonial occasions, such as marriages,

* Mahábhárata, Book II, chapter 35.

s'ráddhas, &c., social distinction being indicated by the order in which the offering is made, the noblest guest getting it first, and the rest successively according to their respective ranks. The law of precedence is strictly observed, and frequent disputes arise whenever there is a departure. Within the last fifty years there have been at least a dozen disputes in Calcutta alone about the claims of particular individuals to this honour. At other than religious or quasi-religious ceremonials, the sandal paste is replaced by otto-of-roses, and the garlands by bouquets. The Muhammadans in India adopted the custom from the Hindus, and at Darbárs substituted prepared betel leaf *(páñ)* for the nosegay. In this last form the Governors-General and Viceroys of Her Britannic Majesty have hitherto honored their Indian guests. Yudhishṭhira, knowing well how ticklish people were on the subject, declined to decide the question as regards the king who should first be honoured, and sought the advice of his friends.

Bhíshma was of opinion that Kṛishṇa was the most renowned among the princes, and should first receive the mark of respect. Others also sided with him ; and, the natural bearing of Yudhishṭhira being in favour of his dearly-beloved and faithful cousin, the offering was presented to him. The act, however, proved a veritable apple of discord. S'is'upála, king of Chedi, could not at all tolerate it, and denounced it as grossly partial and unjust. In a long and eloquent speech he showed that Kṛishṇa was not a king, as his father and elder brother were living, and there were several potentates present who were infinitely his superior, and that on an occasion like the Rájasúya, the question of precedence was of vital importance, and should not be hastily disposed of. Addressing the Páṇḍavas and Bhíshma, he said—

" In the presence of the assembled host of kings, Kṛishṇa is by no means entitled to this distinction. Through favour alone you have done him the honour, and it is unworthy of

you. You are, however, young, and know nothing of what is becoming in such cases; the duty in such cases is a delicate one, while Bhíshma (whose advice you have accepted) is narrow-minded, and has long since lost his senses. Time-serving saints like you, Bhíshma, are detestable in the assembly of good men. Under what semblance of reason have you presented the *arghya* to Kṛishṇa who is not a king? and with what face has he, in an assembly like this, accepted the offering? Should you think him to be senior by age, he cannot, in the presence of his father Vasudeva, deserve the honour. It is true Kṛishṇa has always been a well-wisher and follower of you, sons of Kuru, but it is unbecoming of you to give him the precedence in the presence of (your father-in-law) king Drupada. If you have done him honour under the impression of his being an Áchárya, or expounder of the S'ástras, you have been equally wrong, for he cannot claim precedence where the venerable professor Droṇa is present. Equally have you done wrong if you say that you have selected him as a priest (Ṛitvig) of the highest distinction, for he cannot earn that distinction in the presence of the hoary-headed Dvaipáyana (Vyása). How dare you raise Kṛishṇa to a higher position than that of such noble personages as the son of Sántanu, the noble Bhíshma who can command his own death, the valiant hero and highly learned As'vatthámá; the king of kings Duryodhana, the most learned professor of Bhárata, Kṛipa, the learned professor of Kimpurusha Druma, king Rukmí, and S'alya, king of Madra? Is it becoming that you should set aside the favourite pupil of Jamadagni, one who has, by his own valour, conquered, in fair fight, the whole race of kings, that valiant hero Karṇa in favour of Kṛishṇa? The son of Vasudeva is not a priest, nor a professor, nor a king, and you have selected him solely because you are partial to him. Beṣides, if you had made up your mind to honour Kṛishṇa, why have you insulted these kings

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by inviting them to such an assembly? We did not pay tribute to the honorable son of Kuntí from any fear, or flattery, or hopes of favour; we thought him engaged in a noble act and worthy of the rank of a suzerain, and therefore yielded to him; and he has failed to treat us with becoming respect. He has in this assembly offered the *arghya* to Kṛishṇa who is in no way deserving of it, and he could not have insulted us more seriously. The claim of the son of Dharma, to be the most virtuous, is false, for what virtuous person offers worship to one who is bereft of all merit? Yudhisṭhira has behaved meanly, and resigned all pretension to a sense of justice and duty, by offering the highest honour to that wicked scion of the Vṛishṇi race who nefariously assassinated the noble king Jarásandha. The sons of Kuntí are, however, cowards, mean, and wandering beggars, and through their meanness they may offer you the honour; but it was your duty, Kṛishṇa, to reflect upon the propriety of the act. How could you, knowing yourself to be unworthy, barefacedly accept the offering? Even as a dog, having in private tasted a drop of butter, prides itself upon it; so are you feeling elated by the honour you have got; but know well that the offering is not an insult to the royal guests, but a ridicule cast on you. Even as the marriage of an eunuch, or the attempt of a blind man to enjoy the pleasures of colour, is absurd, so is the tribute of royalty paid to one who owns no kingdom. This act of to-day fully illustrates the nature of Bhíshma and Yudhishṭhira's claim to good sense, and the character of Kṛishṇa."* Saying this, he rose from his seat, and was about to leave the assembly along with some of the guests; when Yudhishṭhira came forward and tried his best to pacify the irate chief. Bhíshma, Bhíma, and others also interposed; but to no avail. S'is'upála, naturally of an ungovernable temper, spoke in the most violent terms. He inveighed

* Mahábhárata, II., chapter 36.

particularly against Bhíshma for his advice, and bitterly taunted Kṛishṇa for his many shortcomings. Words rose high, and the tumult became general. The proud and martial spirit of many of the chiefs sided with the king of Chedi, and from words they rushed to arms, when Kṛishṇa, in a fit of passion, knocked off the head of S'is'upala with his discus, and brought the tumult to an end.

Mr. Wheeler is of opinion that this legend has been engrafted by the Bráhmaṇical compilers on the story of the Páṇḍavas for a sinister purpose. His arguments are:* 1st, Because "the legend is at variance with the mythic account of the pavilions from which the Rájás are said to have beheld the sacrifice." 2nd, Because "it is of a character suited to the unruly habits of the Yádavas, but inconsistent with the Kshatríyas of the Royal house of Bharata, who were scrupulous in the observance of order and law." 3rd, Because "no trace of the custom appears in the ancient ritual of the Rájasúya as preserved in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa." 4th, Because "the Rájasúya was a ceremony expressive of the superiority of the Rájá who performed the sacrifice," and he could not be expected to honour another. 5th, Because "the custom of offering the *arghya* as a token of respect or act of worship belonged to the Buddhist period, and was essentially a form of worship antagonistic to that of sacrifice."

The first argument is founded on a mistake. The sacrifice lasted for a whole year, and it is distinctly mentioned that the guests assembled in the Sacrificial Hall to be present at the imperial baptism when the dispute occurred. The pavilions were so constructed that the princes could, from them, behold the sacrifice going on; but the princes were not there on the occasion in question. The second is a mere assumption. The legends of the Kshatríyas of the house of Bharata show them to have been as unruly

* History of India, I., p., 171.

as the Yádavas, with whom they were intimately connected by marital and other ties. Besides the very fact of the Kshatríyas of the house of Bharata having been scrupulously observant of order and law, would, in a question of so much importance as precedence, suggest the idea of resenting affronts The higher the civilization, the more troublesome becomes the settlement of the table of precedence and court etiquette. Great knights in Europe were certainly not "half-naked savages," and the punctiliousness which they observed rules of precedence at tournaments, can well convey an idea of the extent to which rights of precedence may be insisted upon without the persons concerned being unruly and riotous. To Englishmen familiar with the heart-burning which often results even from mistakes in leading persons to the private dinner table, it would not be difficult to conceive how a slight of that description at a grand ceremonial would be calculated to irritate the proud spirit of ancient warriors, and it is well known that the Hindus have always been most punctilious in this respect. Further, if in 1870 of the Christian era, a Kshatríya chief, the Ráná of Jodhpur, could so far carry his recusancy on a question of precedence, as to necessitate his expulsion by order of Lord Mayo from British territory within twenty-four hours, it would by no means be unreasonable to suppose that an ancestor of his could commit himself in a similar manner four thousand years ago. The third is due to an oversight; for had the critic looked to the wording of the chapter on the Rájasúya in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, he would have found that it does not profess to give the whole of the ritual but only "the Shastras and Stotras required at the Soma day of the Rájasúya,"* and its evidence therefore is immaterial. The fourth has arisen from a misapprehension of the real nature of the rite. An emperor doing honour to his guests does no more thereby lower himself in his majesty than does

* Haug's Translation, p. 495.

the father-in-law become inferior to a bridegroom who accepts the position of a son, by offering him an *arghya*. The fifth, like the second, is a mere assumption. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that the Buddhists originated the *arghya* by way of protest to the sacrifices of the Vedas, and there is nothing in the *arghya* decidedly and exclusively characteristic of Buddhism. The Buddhists were not foreigners importing foreign customs and manners, but schismatics who, like the followers of Luther and Wycliffe, rejected all idolatrous, unmeaning, and superstitious rituals and observances, but retained all social rules and customs of their forefathers. Even Piyadasi, the greatest opponent of Hinduism, did not think it inconsisten with his principle to enjoin, in his rock edicts, due respect to Bráhmaṇs. *Á priori* it is, therefore, to be supposed that the Buddhists did not reject so innocent a custom as that of offering flowers aud incense to a guest. The Hindu-hating Muhammadans adopted it from the Hindus. Besides, the Buddhists do not in the present day offer *arghyas*, and, except in their Tantras, avowedly borrowed from the Hindus, there is no mention of the rite in their ancient books.

To turn however to the Rájasúya of the Páṇḍavas. The tumult having subsided, the crowning act of the long protracted sacrifice was duly performed. The consecrated water was with all solemnity sprinkled on the newly-created emperor, allegiance was acknowledged by all the guests, and the ceremony was brought to a conclusion amidst the cheers and congratulations of one and all. The guests now dispersed, the chiefs with every mark of honour aud consideration, each being accompanied by a brother of Yudhishṭhira to the confines of the Ráj; and the Bráhmaṇs loaded with the most costly gifts.

Mr. Wheeler opines that "the so-called Rájás who really attended the Rájasúya were, in all probability, a rude company of half-naked warriors, who feasted boisterously beneath

the shade of trees. Their conversation was very likely confined to their domestic relations, such as the state of their health, of their families, the exploits of their sons, and the marriages of their daughters; or to their domestic circumstances, such as herds of cattle, harvests of grain, and feats of arms against robbers and wild beasts. Their highest ideas were probably simple conceptions of the gods who sent heat and rain; who gave long life, abundance of children, prolific cattle, and brimming harvests; and who occasionally manifested their wrath in lightning and thunder, in devasting tempests and destroying floods. Such, in all probability, was the general character of the festive multitude who sat down upon the grass at the great feast, to eat and drink vigorously to the honour and glory of the new Rájá."* As a fancy sketch of what a race of primitive savages may be expected to do at a feast, this is perfect. From our knowledge of the Juangahs of Western Orissa, of the Santáls of the Kharakpur Hills, and of the Kharwárs of Rohṭás, we can easily perceive the natural exactitude of the picture in every line. But those who have read the Mahábhárata in the original, cannot but think that it is not authorised by a single syllable to be met with in that work; and as we have to deal with the account of the feast as given in it, and not what the materials were on which it is founded, the sketch seems somewhat out of place. If we are to resolve the tents (awnings) under which the Bráhmaṇs were lodged, the mansions provided for the royal guests, the assembly hall, the golden seats, the crystal fountains and mirrors, the presents of rich stuffs, horses, golden trappings, and highly prized incenses, the stewards, croupiers, chamberlains, the court etiquette, heralds, and ambassadors, to a motley crowd of " half-naked savages feasting under trees, seated on the grass," what is there to prevent our rejecting the whole as a myth?—the baseless

* History of India, I., p. 167.

fabric of a poet's vision, unworthy of being reckoned as an historic description? Mr. Wheeler attributes them to interpolations made by the Bráhmaṇical priestcraft long after the original of the Mahábhárata had been compiled. Now, the account of the Rájasúya given in that work appears under five heads, omitting the first on consultation which is of no interest. The heads are: 1st, the assassination of Jarásandha; 2nd, the conquest of the four quarters; 3rd, the sacrifice; 4th, the offering of the *argyha*; and 5th, the destruction of S'is'upála. Of these the first and the second are, according to the critic, " evidently a myth of the Bráhmaṇical compilers who sought to promulgate the worship of Kṛishṇa." The third, he believes to be, " an extravagant exaggeration" of a feast celebrated by " half-naked savages under the shade of trees." The last two, he suspects, are partly borrowed from the Buddhists, and partly from the traditions of the Yádavas, and engrafted on the original story of the Páṇḍavas. Thus, out of the five chapters we have four entirely rejected, and an insignificant residuum—a *caput mortuum*—of one accepted in a sense which the words of the text do not openly admit. The obvious inference under the circumstances should be that the work in its entirety is a forgery, and not that an original has been tampered with and corrupted. In that case, however, the whole fabric of the learned author's " Ancient India," founded on the Mahábhárata, must fall to the ground.

If nineteen-twentieths of an account are to be rejected, and the remaining twentieth is to be so transmogrified as to be utterly unlike the original, it would be quite misleading to put it forth as a picture of that original. Even if it be true, it would be like the skeleton of Hercules put forth as Hercules in flesh and blood, or an uncarveds tone of the Parthenon put forth to represent the character of that renowned work of art. To quote the language of Sir George Cox, "if the

story of Jack the Giant-Killer be clipped and pared as the traditionalists have pared down the 'tale of Troy divine,' the beanstalk-ladder to heaven, the giant, and the giant's wife, all go to thin air together, and there remains only some valiant John who overcomes and punishes some tyrant or oppressor. Giants do not exist, and beanstalk-ladders to the moon conflict with the theory of gravitation. Yet it is not easy to see why out of such wealth of materials we should retain so little, or why, in the latter case, we should not say boldly and candidly that we do not believe any part of the story."*

Doubtless, the Páṇḍavas were a primitive people, and sixteen to eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, it would be unreasonable to look, among them, for the refinements of the present century; but the question before us is as to what the state of civilization was which they had attained, and to reject the only available evidence in the case, the Mahábhárata, on the *à priori* assumption that, inasmuch as they must have been the counterparts of the Juangahs of our day, they could not have been so civilized as to command houses and tents, or the comforts and conveniences of furniture and clothing, is, to say the least, an unphilosophical mode of argument. To create one's own major in order to deduce therefrom a foregone conclusion, is not the most logical method for the unravelling of the tangled maze of historical truth. The question, besides, suggests itself, if the Páṇḍavas were really naked savages, what had they to do with the rite of the Rájasúya? It is impossible to conceive that their circumstances remaining as they are the Juangahs or the Andamanese could think of such a politico-religious rite, and in the case of persons of their condition about four thousand years ago, such an idea would be totally unwarrantable. We have the authority of the Aitareya

* Cox's Mythology of the Aryan Nations, I., 183.

Bráhmaṇa of the Ṛig Veda, and the Sañhitás and the Bráhmaṇas of the Black and the White Yajur Vedas, whose antiquity and authenticity are unimpeached, to show that the rite under notice was well-known to the Aryans from a very remote period of antiquity, and the description given in those works of the rite and its requirements, indicates that the social and political condition of their authors was considerably more advanced than those of men who have no higher conception of a solemn religious rite than entering into a drinking bout, seated on the grass under the shade of trees. The Páṇḍavas, if such a family ever lived, must have lived either before the date of the Vedas, or after it. In the former case, they could not have performed the ceremony, for the ceremony had not been then designed. If the latter, they must have known the Vedic ordinances, and been in a condition to follow them. And in either case the theory of naked savages feasting under the shade of trees to celebrate the rite in question must be given up as untenable. The story of the Páṇḍavas may, for aught we know to the contrary, be all a myth, even as that of the Iliad founded, as supposed by some, on an allegory of the dawn chased by the rising sun; but as in the latter case the Iliad must be accepted as a history of the inner life of men and manners in the earliest days of the Greeks, so must the Mahábhárata be accepted as a record of the life of the Aryans in India a few centuries before the time when the Iliad was composed; and in the account of the Rájasúya we cannot help accepting a picture of what at least was the ideal of such a rite in those days.

The Mahábhárata does not give any sample of the conversations of the assembled guests at the Rájasúya. The Bráhmaṇs are said to have discoursed about the particular forms in which certain ceremonies had to be performed, but the *ipsissima verba* of their discourses are not given. The speeches of S'is'upála denouncing the claim of Kṛishṇa to the

arghya, are fluent, fiery, and very closely argued, though perhaps not quite so elevated in tone as some of the Homeric speeches are; but such as they are, we cannot gather from them any idea of the common topics of private conversation of the guests. It is probable, however, that Mr. Wheeler is perfectly right in his guess about them. Warriors in olden times were rarely noted for their literary acquirements or polish, and some roughness was inseparable from them even in Europe two hundred years ago; and the private conversation of such men could not take a very lofty tone. It is extremely doubtful if at Versailles during the coronation of Emperor William, the guests among themselves discussed on transcendental philosophy. Certain it is that even in our own day a little less of sensational talk and private scandal at tea parties and private gatherings would be a positive gain to society. Anyhow under no circumstance can the staple of private conversation among particular groups of men help us to any exact idea of the social and intellectual condition of a whole race or tribe.

As to the ideas of the Páṇḍavas regarding the Godhead, some of the mantras quoted below will, we think, be found to be much more reliable guides, than any guesses based on *à priori* arguments.

The rituals of the Rájasúya do not appear in the Mahábhárata even in a brief summary. It did not fall within the scope of that work—an avowedly epic poem—to dwell upon so dry and recondite a subject; nor is there, as already stated, any single treatise or guide-book extant in which the whole of the details may be found arranged consecutively. The Sañhitá of the Ṛig Veda, which supplies some of the principal mantras of the rite, has nowhere used the word Rájasúya. The Sáma is equally silent, and so is the Atharva. One of the Bráhmaṇas of the Ṛig Veda, the Aitareya, however, devotes an entire book to the rites of the last day of

the sacrifice on which the king was made to sit on a throne, consecrated with holy water, driven in a chariot, and offered a goblet each of soma beer and arrack; and also specifies a few of the hymns which are to be recited in connexion with some of the different ceremonials and offerings which make them up. The only subject which it describes at any length is the *abhisheka*, or the pouring of consecrated water on the king and its attendant rites. The Sañhitá of the Mádhyandiní Sákhá of the White Yajush treats of the subject at a greater length, and supplies most of the mantras required; but the mantras occur dispersed under different heads. The Taittiriya Sañhitá of the Black Yajush and its corresponding Bráhmaṇa, however, make ample amends for the shortcomings of the others. They treat of the rite in nearly its entirety from the beginning to the end, and supply, by direct citations or references, all the mantras required to be muttered while making the various offerings to the fire, and those which should precede, or follow, the offerings, as also those which are required for bathing, drinking, mounting a car, and other formalities and ceremonies which have to be gone through. They are silent, however, as to the particular stages of the rite when the Ṛig mantras are to be repeated, and the Sáma hymns to be chanted, and these we know from other sources are inseparable from the rites prescribed by the Yajur Veda. The details, too, as given are insufferably tedious and puerile in some respects, and vexatiously obscure and unintelligible in others. Instructions are also wanting as to how often the rites are to be repeated, and how the time over which they spread is to be filled up.

It appears that the Rájasúya, as a religious sacrifice, was not a distinct and independent ceremony, but a collection of several separate rites celebrated consecutively, according to a given order, and spreading over a period of twelve months. It required the services of several priests, and un-

limited supplies of butter, rice, sacrificial animals, soma beer, and other articles appropriate for a Yajṇa, as also frequent and heavy presents of gold and kine to the priests and Bráhmaṇs.

The time allotted to the preliminary rites was divided into three equal periods, each of which bore a separate name, and during each a particular round of ceremonies had to be gone through. From the number of months included in each of the three periods its most appropriate name would be a *Cháturmásya*, or a 'quadrimensial rite'; but the name it seems, did not originate merely from the fact of there being four months in each period, but from the circumstance of the time being devoted to the performance of a sacrificial rite of that name prescribed in the Vedas. It commenced usually when the 14th and the 15th of the waxing moon of the month of Phálguṇa, (February—March) came into conjunction; but in the event of an accident on that day the new moon of the month of Chaitra (March—April) was deemed the next best, and offerings were made, at morning, noon and evening, regularly every day for four lunar months; the Dars'a and the Púrṇamása rites being celebrated alternately on the successive new and full moons, and the Prayuga rite on every full-moon. The Cháturmásya was ordained for both Bráhmaṇs and Kshatríyas, and was held in great veneration. When the Buddhists set aside the old Vedic rites, they could not altogether reject the Cháturmásya, so they retained the name, but changed its character. Instead of March, they commenced the rite at about the end of June, or early in July; and in lieu of offerings to the fire, they took to systematic and formal reading of their scriptures. The rains rendered travelling and itinerary mendicancy inconvenient, and shelter under the roof of an hermitage, or monastery, was an absolute necessity; and the period of this confinement was, therefore, the best adapted

for reading and particular forms of penance. From the circumstance of the ceremony being observed in the rainy weather, it had the alternative names of *Wassá* or "the autumnal rite." When Hinduism revived, the Cháturmásya could not be conveniently sent back to the season when it was originally celebrated, so in the modern calender it begins on the 11th of the waning moon in S'rávaṇa (July), and terminates on the 11th of the waxing moon in Kártika, (October—November); though the ceremony is not finally closed until the full-moon following. Widows and hermits are the principal observers of this ceremony in the present day, and it is made up of a series of fasts and penances: some abstaining from the evening meal, or rice altogether; some taking their food served on the bare ground; some giving up the use of bedsteads; others eschewing the use of betel leaf, condiments and rich food of all kinds. Abstinence from flesh-meat and fish, from fine clothing, and from indulgence in singing, dancing, and music are obligatory on all. In some of its features the new rite bears a close resemblance to the Lent of the Christian Church, and, curiously enough, its old prototype, the Vedic rite, commenced at about the same time.

The sacrifice opened with the cooking of eight pots of frumenty for a divinity named Anumiti, who, according to some, is the presiding spirit of the interval between the 14th and the 15th lunation, but in the opinions of others, that of fertile land. The frumenty being duly consecrated and offered, a fee of one milch cow was to be given to the priest. The object of this offering was to pacify the earth and make her agreeable and favourably disposed to the sacrifice. Then followed an offering of one potful of frumenty to Nirṛiti, the personation of barren land, or the evil genius which causes mischief to, and interruptions in, the progress of the rite. The fee *(Dakshiṇá)* for this offering was a piece of black

cloth with a black fringe; and this offering had to be made while standing at the doorway, so as to protect the sacrificial hall from her encroachment. Offerings next followed to Áditya, Vishṇu, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Sarasvatí, to each a specific number of platters of the frumenty, and an appropriate fee for the priest who consecrated those offerings on the fire. The fee varied from a bit of gold to a calf, a bull, or one or two milch cows. The full-moon rite, Púrṇamása, was then performed with offerings of Soma beer and animal sacrifice as ordained under that head in the Vedas.

After this preliminary Homa, the rites proper of the first Cháturmásya, which bore the specific name of *Vais'vadeva Parva*, began. These included a daily round of offerings, morning, noon, and evening, the articles offered being mostly clarified butter and frumenty cooked with grains of various kinds, not excepting several species of wild grass, the seeds of which, though now no longer thought of as edible, seem to have been prized not only as articles fit for presentation to the gods, but as nutritious food. The mantras of course differed for every separate offering, and the ritual was very scrupulously fixed for the morning, the noon, and the evening observances; but for the successive days there was little or no change, except on the successive new and full-moons when the Dars'a and the Púrṇamása were celebrated with the usual offerings of soma beer, and the priests and their congregations regaled themselves with the intoxicating beverage. One of the mantras from the Black Yajur Bráhmaṇa contains a curious reference to an iron instrument put inside the mouth for governing and guiding horses. This completely refutes the accuracy of the statement made by Arrian that the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion knew not the use of the bit or snaffle, and tied a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of the horse's jaw.* The name

* *Vide* Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, I., p. 128.

for the bit or snaffle in the olden days was *ádhána*.* Subsequently the word *khalina* was substituted.

The second period of four months bore the name of *Varuṇa-praghása Parva*. It commenced in the month of Ásádha (June-July), or S'rávaṇa (July-August), according as the first period commenced in Phálguṇa or Chaitra. The articles of offering during this period included, besides the frumenty, grains, clarified butter, &c., an occasional allowance of mutton. The arrangement of the altars was slightly changed, and the mantras used were mostly different, but the gods invoked were the same, and the alternate celebration of the Dars'a and the Púrṇamása rites, as also of the Prayujá, was regularly continued.

The third period opened with the performance of a group of rites called the *Sákamedha Parva* which took up two days, the first devoted to three homas, and the second to nine homas, and three offerings to the manes—*Mahápitṛi yajṇa*. The homas of the second day were designed for the Maruts. It is said that "Indra having destroyed Vṛitra, ran away, thinking that he had done wrong. (Meeting the Maruts in the way) he asked, 'Who can ascertain this (whether I have killed Vṛitra or not)?' The Maruts replied, 'We shall give you the blessing, and ascertain the fact; do you give us the first oblation.' They then played about (on the corpse of Vṛitra and were satisfied that it was lifeless). Hence the play of players, and therefore are the oblations first given to the Maruts for success in warfare." The details of the offering to the manes were very much like what is well known in connexion with the ordinary s'ráddhas, but the mantras were different, and the rite was looked upon with special veneration. It was followed, on a subsequent day, by another feast for the manes, and it was called *Tryambaka*

* ऋक्सामे वा इन्द्रस्य हरी सोमपानौ। तयोः परिधेय आधानं। हरी अश्वौ तयोर्वशीकरणाय मुखे परिधाप्यो लोहविशेष आधानं। Black Yajur Sañhitá, II., p. 27.

Purodása. In this the spirit of each ancestor had a separate platter of cake or ball of barley steeped in ghí, and an extra one was designed for those who would ascend the region of the Manes (Pitṛis) at a future time. The balls of course, as usual in s'ráddhas, were consecrated, but not put on the ground. They were thrown upwards and received back on the palm of the hand. The divinity invoked afterwards was Rudra, who is described as a cruel god, with three eyes—*tri* 'three,' and *ambaka* 'eyes,' whence the name of the rite. Ambá is referred to as the wife of the god. The object of the rite seems to have been the prevention of the destruction of crops by vermin, through the pacification of their lord, who is described as the "master of rats."* To the modern Indian reader, this passage will appear remarkable, as it is universally known in the present day, as it was in those of the Puráṇas, that the rat was the favourite of Gaṇés'a, the son of Rudra, and not of Rudra himself. There is, however, no contradiction, as the vehicle of the son may well be a favourite of the father. As during the two preceding periods, so in this, the Dars'a, the Púrṇamása and the Prayujá rites were celebrated with a lavish consumption of Soma beer; but in the absence of a manual I cannot ascertain if the Homas and the S'ráddhas were repeated every fortnight, (apparently they were,) and how the other days of the period were occupied. The S'astras and Sáma hymns of this period are also unknown to me.

On the completion of the three quadrimensial rites extending over a period of one year, four separate rites were enjoined for the first day of the new year. The first of these was called *Súnas'arya,* and it included offerings of twelve platters of frumenty to Indra and Agni; one platterful of the same to the Vis'vedevás, twelve platters of cakes to

आखुस्ते रुद्र Commentary हे रुद्रमूषकस्ते प्रियः पशुः

Indra as a combination of *Súná* 'wind,' and *S'ira* 'the sun, milk to Váyu, and one platterful to Súrya. The fee to the priest for the rite was twelve heads of kine.

The next was called *Indra-túrya* or "Indra the fourth," the other three associates being Agni, Rudra, and Varuṇa. It included offerings of eight plattersful of frumenty to Agni, a platterful of the same made of a kind of wild paddy, called *Gávidhuka*, to Rudra, curdled milk to Indra, and frumenty made of barley to Varuṇa. The fee for this rite was a cow fit to carry loads.

The third rite, called *Panchedhmíya*, was performed at night, when five loads of different kinds of wood were offered to the fire along with clarified butter. The object of this rite was to prevent Rákshasas from causing interruptions. The last rite was called *Apámárga Homa*, because it was accomplished by offering, at early dawn, a handful of meal made of the seeds of a wild weed named Apámárga, *(Ascheranthes aspera)* on a burning fagot. The story in connexion with this rite says; "once on a time Indra, having destroyed Vṛitra and other As'uras, failed to find out the As'ura Namuchi. At last he seized him, and the two wrestled together; Indra was overpowered, and on the point of being killed; when the As'ura told him, 'Let us enter into an agreement for peace, and I shall let you alone; promise only that you will not attempt to kill me with a dry or a fluid substance, nor during day, nor at night.' (The agreement was accordingly ratified; but Indra was not satisfied.) He collected some foam, which was neither dry nor moist, and, at dawn, when the sun had not risen, which was neither day nor night in this region, struck the head of the As'ura with that foam. The As'ura complained that he (Indra) was a murderer of his friend. From the head (of the As'ura) was produced the herb Apámárga; performing a homa with that herb, he (Indra) destroyed the Rákshasas."*

* Taittiríya Sañhitá, Vol. II., p. 95.

For the day following six rites were enjoined, including offerings to some of the minor deities who protect infants from their conception to the time when they learn to speak. The articles offered call for no remark. The fee in four cases was one or more cows of particular colour or quality, gold in one, and a horse in the last.

The rites aforesaid were all performed in the king's own sacrificial hall, where the necessary altars were prepared for the purpose. But after the last-named rite, some offerings had to be made on eleven successive days in the houses of the subjects, and they were collectively called *Ratninám Havi* or "the rite of the wealthy." The first offering was made to Vṛihaspati in the house of the High Priest Brahmá; the second to Indra, in the house of a Kshatríya; the third to Áditya, in the house of the anointed queen; the fourth to Nirṛiti, in that of the queen who is not a favourite; the fifth to Agni, in that of the Commander-in-chief; the sixth to Varuṇa, in that of the charioteer; the seventh to the Maruts, in that of a public prostitute; the eighth to Savitá, in that of the chamberlain or warder of the gynaceum; the ninth to the As'vins, in that of the treasurer; the tenth to Pushan, in that of the ryot who shares the produce with the king; the eleventh to Rudra, in that of a gambler. Each of these offerings had its appropriate fee. On the completion of these, two other rites, respectively called Dikshaṇiya and Devasuvá, had to be performed in the king's own sacrificial hall. They occupied one day, and completed the preliminary rites necessary for the most important act of the sacrifice—the imperial bathing or *Abhisheka*.

The account of the *Abhisheka* given in the White Yajur Bráhmaṇa is nearly as full as that which occurs in the Black Yajur, but the Bráhmaṇa of the latter, which elaborates it, is, at every step, interrupted by innumerable little stories of no interest.

The religious rites performed on the last day of the great sacrifice were twofold—one appertaining to the celebration of an ephemeral *(aíkáhika)* Soma sacrifice with its morning, noon and evening libations, its animal sacrifices, its numerous S'astras and Stotras, and its chorus of Sáma hymns, and the other relating to the bathing and its attendant acts of mounting a car, symbolically conquering the whole earth, receiving the homage of the priests, and quaffing a goblet of Soma beer and another of arrack, together with the rites appertaining thereto.

The proper time for the ceremony was the new moon after the full moon of Phálguṇa, *i. e.*, at about the end of March. The fluids required for the bathing were of seventeen kinds according to the Mádhyandiníya school of the White Yajush, and "sixteen or seventeen" according to the Taittiríyakas. The former, however, gives a list of 18 kinds* ; thus—1st, the water of the Sarasvatí river, *(Sáras-*

* The discrepancy is explained by taking the Sárasvatí water to be the principal ingredient, and the others the regular ritual articles. For the Abhisheka of Vaishṇavite idols of wood, stone or metal, recommended by later rituals, the articles required are considerably more numerous, but they do not include all those which the Vedas give above. Thus, they enumerate, 1st, clarified butter; 2nd, curds ; 3rd, milk ; 4th, cowdung ; 5th, cow's urine ; 6th, ashes of bull's dung ; 7th, honey ; 8th, sugar ; 9th, Ganges water or any pure water ; 10th, water of a river which has a masculine name ; 11th, water of a river which has a feminine name; 12th, ocean water ; 13th, water from a waterfall ; 14th, water from clouds ; 15th, water from a sacred pool ; 16th, water in which some fruits have been steeped ; 17th, water in which five kinds of astringent leaves have been steeped ; 18th, hot water ; 19th, water dripping from a vessel having a thousand holes in its bottom ; 20th, water from a jar having some mango leaves in it ; 21st, water from eight pitchers; 22nd, water in which kus'a grass has been steeped ; 23rd, water from a jar used in sprinkling holy water *('sántikumbha)* : 24th, sandal-wood water ; 25th, water scented with fragrant flowers ; 26th, water scented with fried grains ; 27th, water scented with Jaṭámáñsi and other aromatics; 28th, water scented with certain drugs collectively called Mahaushadhi ; 29th, water in which five kinds of precious stones have been dipped ; 30th, earth from the bed of the Ganges ; 31st, earth dug out by the tusk of an elephant ; 32nd, earth from a mountain ; 33rd, earth from the hoof of a horse ;

vati); 2nd, water from a pool or river while in a state of agitation from the fall of something into it, *(Kallola);* 3rd, water disturbed by the passage of an army over a ford *(Vrishasená);* 4th, water taken during an ebb tide *(Arthetá);* 5th, water taken during a flood tide *(Ojashvatí);* 6th, water from the point of junction of two streams produced by a sandbank in a river *(Parivdhiní);* 7th, sea-water *(Apámpatí);* 8th, water from a whirlpool *(Apángarbhá);* 9th, water from a pool in a river where there is no current, *(Súryatvak);* 10th, rain-water which falls during sunshine, *(Súryavarchchas);* 11th, tank-water *(Mánda);* 12th, well-water, *(Vrajakshitá);* 13th, dew-drops collected from the tops of grass blades, *(Vás'á);* 14th, honey *(Savishthá);* 15th, liquor amnion *(S'akvarí);* 16th, milk *(Janabhrit);* 17th, clarified butter *(Vis'vabhrit);* 18th, water heated by exposure to the sun, *(Svárát.)* These waters were collected at proper seasons

34th, earth from around the root of a lotus; 35th, earth from a mound made by white-ants; 36th, sand from the bed of a river; 37th, earth from the point where two rivers meet; 38th, earth from a boar's lair; 39th, earth from the opposite banks of a river; 40th, cake of pressed sesamum seed; 41st, leaves of the as'vattha; 42nd, mango leaves; 43rd, leaves of the Mimosa arjuna; 44th, leaves of a particular variety of as'vattha; 45th, flowers of the Champaka; 46th, blossoms of the mango; 47th, flowers of the Sami; 48th, Kunda flowers; 49th, lotus flowers; 50th, oleander flowers; 51st, Nágakes'ara flowers; 52nd, Tuls'i leaves powdered; 53rd, Bel leaves powdered; 54th, leaves of the kunda; 55th, barley-meal; 56th, meal of the Nivára grain (a wild paddy); 57th, powdered sesamum seed; 58th, powder of Sati leaves; 59th, turmeric powder, 60th, meal of the Syámáka grain; 61st, powdered ginger; 62nd, powder of Priyangu seeds; 63rd, rice-meal; 64th, powder of bel leaves; 65th, powder of the leaves of the amblic myrobalan; 66th, meal of the kangni seed. The usual practice is to place a mirror before the idol, then to fill a small pitcher with pure water, drop in it a small quantity of one of the articles in the order above named, and lastly to pour the mixture on the reflected image, through a rosehead called s'atajhárá, similar to the gold vessel with a hundred perforations described above. This symbolical bathing is found expedient to prevent the paint and polish of the idols being soiled and tarnished. In the case of unbaked idols the necessity for it is imperative, and the bathing is more simple, summary and expeditious.

and opportunities, and kept in reserve in pitchers near the northern altar. On the day of the ceremony eighteen small vessels made of the wood of the *Ficus glomerata (Udumbara)* or of the *Calamus rotang (vetasa)* were provided, and the Adhvaryu, proceeding to the first pitcher, drew some water from it into one of the vessels while repeating the mantra, "O honeyed water whom the Devas collected, thou mighty one, thou begotten of kings, thou enlivener; with thee Mitra and Varuṇa were consecrated, and Indra was freed from his enemies; I take thee." He next drew some water from the second pitcher, with the mantra "O water, thou art naturally a giver of kingdoms, grant a Kingdom to my Yajamána so and so (naming the king)," and then poured into the vessel butter taken four times in a ladle, a mantra being repeated to consecrate the operation of pouring. In this way all the eighteen vessels being filled and consecrated in due form, their contents were all poured into a large bucket made of the same wood, while repeating the verse, "O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the promotion of the strength and regal vigour of our Yajamána." The mixture was then removed to the altar opposite the place of Mitrávaruṇa. The bucket being thus placed, six offerings were made to the six divinities, Agni, Soma, Savitá, Sarasvatí, Pushá, and Vṛihaspatí. Two slips of Kus'a grass were next taken up, a bit of gold was tied to each, and the slips thus prepared were then dipped into the bucket, and a little water was taken out with them, and sprinkled on the king while repeating the mantra, "I sprinkle this by order of Savitá, with a faultless thread of grass *(pavitra)*—with the light of the sun. You are, O waters, unassailable, the friends of speech, born of heat, the giver of Soma, and the sanctified by mantra; do ye grant a kingdom (to our Yajamána.)"

Four buckets were next brought out, one made of Palása wood, *(Butea frondosa)* one of Udumbra *(Ficus glomera-*

ta), one of Vaṭa *(Ficus indica),* and one of As'vattha *(Ficus religiosa),* and the collected waters in the bucket were divided into four parts, and poured into them.

The king was then made to put on his bathing dress, consisting of an inner garment for the loins *(tárpya)* made of linen or cotton cloth steeped in clarified butter, a red blanket for the body *(Páṇḍya),* an outer wrapper tied round the neck like a barber's sheet *(adhivása),* and a turban *(ushṇísa).* A bow was then brought forth, duly strung, and then handed to the king, along with three kinds of arrows, for all which appropriate mantras are provided.

The Adhvaryu then, taking the right hand of the king, repeated the two following mantras: (1st). "May Savitá appoint you as the sovereign of the people. May Agni, the adored of householders, appoint you the ruler of all householders. May Soma, the sovereign of the vegetable kingdom, grant you supremacy over vegetables. May Vṛihaspati, the developer of speech, bestow on you power over speech. May Indra, the eldest, make you the eldest over all. May Rudra, the lord of animals, make you supreme over all animals. May truthful Mitra make you the protector of truth. May Varuṇa, the defender of virtuous actions, grant you lordship over virtue." (2nd). "O well-worshipped gods, Do you free so and so (naming the king), the son of so and so (naming the father and mother of the king), from all enemies, and enable him to be worthy of the highest duties of Kshatríyas, of the eldest, of the lord of vehicles, and of supremacy. Through your blessings he has become the king of such a nation (naming it). O ye persons of that nation, from this day, he is your king. Of us Bráhmaṇs, Soma is the king." The concluding line of the last mantra is worthy of note, as it exempts the Bráhmaṇs from the sovereignty of the anointed king.

A few offerings to the fire next followed, and the king was then made symbolically to conquer the four quarters

of the earth and the sky. Making him advance successively towards the east, north, south, and west, the Adhvaryu said, "Yajamána, conquer the earth. May the metre Gáyatri, the Ráthántara Sáma hymn, the Stoma named Trivit, the spring season and the Bráhmaṇ caste protect you on this side." "Yajamána, conquer the south. May the metre Trishṭup, the Vrihat Sáma hymn, the fifteen-fold Stoma, the summer season and the Kshatríya caste protect you there." "Yajamána, conquer the west. May the metre Jagati, the Vairúpa Sáma hymns, the seventeen-fold Stoma, the rainy season and the Vais'ya caste protect you there. "Yajamána, conquer the north. May the metre Anushṭup, the Vairája Sáma hymns, the twenty-one-fold Stoma, the autumn season, and the fruits of the earth protect you there." The king was then made to look upwards, and while he did so, the Adhvaryu recited a mantra saying, "Yajamána conquer the upper regions. May the metre Pankti, the Sakvara and the Raivata Sáma hymns, the three-fold-nine and the thirty-three-fold Stomas, the dewy and the cold seasons, Vigour and Dravina wealth protect you there."

A stool, made of the wood of the *Mimosa catechu (Khadira)* or of the *Ficus glomerata*, having feet about seven inches high, had next to be provided, and thereon was spread a tiger skin with the hairy side upwards and the head looking to the south, the mantra for the purpose saying, that even as the skin was the glory of the moon so should it confer glory on the king. On the skin was placed a *S'atamána*, a bit of gold of the weight of a hundred measure,* or a coin of that

* The Scholiast takes the *S'atamána* to be equivalent to a hundred *krishnalas* or ratis; which would be equal to 175 Troy grains; but the researches of the learned Mr. Thomas clearly prove that the *mána* was nearly treble the weight of the *rati*, and that the *S'atamána* was equivalent to 320 *ratis* or 560 Troy grains, which made it equal to four of the well-known old coin *Suvarṇa*, which weighed 140 grains Troy—something like the Greek Tetradrachma, but about twice its weight, and of gold. Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, New Ed,. p. 5.

name—probably the latter. Seated on this bathing stool facing the east, the king had a vessel of gold, weighing a *S'atamána* and having nine or a hundred perforations in its buttom, placed on his head. A piece of copper was also placed under his left foot, and a piece of lead under his right foot. The vessel was intended to serve as a rosehead for the fluid for the bathing falling in a shower over the head of the king; the copper as the emblem of the head of Namuchi the chief of the Asuras or Demons, who were inimical to religious rites ; and the lead that of tatlers and wicked people who had to be put down. The mantras intended to be recited when placing the three articles indicate their character. The king recited the mantras, and then kicked away the metals from under his feet. After this, he lifted his two hands upwards, repeating appropriate mantras, in one of which he promised to rise before the sun every day, and remained in that position. Thereupon, the Adhvaryu came forward and stood in front of him with the bucket made of Palása wood in his hand. The High Priest, or a relative of the king, stood on the right side with the bucket of Udumbra wood, and a Kshatríya on the left with the bucket made of Nyagrodha wood, while a Vais'ya stood behind with the bucket made of As'vattha wood, and each on his turn, in the order named, poured the contents of his bucket on the king's head. The mantra to be recited when about to pour the water runs thus: "May king Soma and Varuṇa and the other gods who are the defenders of religion protect thy speech; may they protect thy vital airs; may they protect thy eyes; may they protect thy ears." The mantra for the Adhvaryu when pouring the water from his bucket, says, "O Yajamána, I bathe thee with the glory of the moon; may you be king of kings among kings; may you prosper in every way; may you overcome all your enemies. O ye well-worshipped Devas, may you free so and so (here the name of the king) the son

of so and so (here the names of his father and mother) from all his enemies, and enable him to discharge the highest duties of the Kshatríya, of the eldest, of the owner of the best vehicles, and of his own greatness. Through your blessings he has become the king of such a nation (name). Know ye of that nation, that he has this day become your king. Of us, Bráhmaṇas, Soma is the king." For the Brahmá the mantra is similar to the last, substituting only "the glory of Agni," for that of the moon, and omitting the names. The Vaisya appealed to the glory of God, and the Kshatriya the light of the sun.

The baptism over, the Emperor decended from his seat, cast off his wet clothes, put on his regal dress including hog-skin shoes, and then took three steps forward, symbolically to represent the subjugation of the three regions, repeating for each act a separate mantra. The three steps were the counterparts of those by which Vishṇu spanned the earth, the upper regions and heaven, or those of the sun at sunrise, midday and sunset. It calls to mind too the story of Poseidon who is said to have covered a great distance in three steps. The Adhvaryu in the meantime offered an oblation to the fire, and the Agnídhra, collecting a portion of the water that had run over the Emperor's person, poured a portion of it on the fire in the name of Rudra.

A chariot was next brought into the sacrificial hall, and to it three horses were yoked, and two charioteers were made to take their places on its two sides. The white Yajush recommends four horses. The Emperor, having taken his seat, ordered the charioteers to proceed, and they whipped the horses, and drove them on until the vehicle was brought in front of a herd of cattle, when the Emperor touched the foremost cow with the tip of his bow, the operation being emblematic of a successful cattle-lifting raid. The vehicle was then turned and brought back to its place near the altar, when

the Adhvaryu offered four oblations to the fire, in the names of Agni, Soma, Maruts and Indra, and the Emperor, while descending from his chariot, recited a mantra, saying, "Him, who is the pure soul, (Hañsa), Him, who is the pervader of the ether, Him, who presides as the Hotá at the altar, Him, who is the long-travelled guest, Him, who, born of water, reigns in every human form, Him, who enlivens all animals, Him, who controls the seasons, Him, who sustains the mountains, Him, the all pervading and the mighty one, I adore." Having descended from the car, he touched the two *Satamánas* which had been previously attached to the two wheels of the vehicle.

A proper throne with a leather cushion was next prepared, and the Emperor, having taken his seat thereon, received the homage of his guests. The first person to approach him was the Adhvaryu, who, touching his breast, said, "If you desire to govern an empire, judge impartially between the great and the small; direct your entire attention to promote the prosperity of all; and exert your utmost to prevent all misadventure."

The Brahmá or High Priest next appeared before him and the following conversation passed between them :—

The Emperor. "Brahmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious. Thy behests can never be overruled. Thou art the asylum of the people, and therefore (as great as) Savitá."

Emperor. "Brahmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious. Thy might is infallible. Thou art the asylum of the people, and therefore (as great as) Varuṇa."

Emperor. "Brahmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious and the owner of every kind of wealth. Thou art the preserver of the peace of the country, and therefore Indra."

Emperor. "Brahmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all-glorious, the adored of all to whom thou art kind, and the cause of weeping to the women of your enemies, and therefore Rudra."

Emperor. "Brahmaṇ."

Brahmá. "Thou art all glorious, therefore like unto Brahmá."

The purohit was next commanded to approach, and he handed the Emperor a sacrificial knife. This knife was made of hard wood, and in shape like a scymitar. With the point of this instrument, the Emperor had to draw on the ground a dice-board, and póur thereon four oblations of butter for Agni. This done, the Adhvaryu handed over to him five dice, shaped like couris, made of gold, and these he cast on the board, saying, "O ye dice which have been taken up after the offering of due oblations, do ye, mixing with the fierce rays of the sun, grant me supremacy among kings." If the dice when cast showed the full number on the upper surface, the augury was believed to be satisfactory.

After this augury the allies, tributaries, vassals and other guests offered their congratulations and homage; but as this was done without any mantra, no mention of it occurs in the ritual.

Now followed a rite called *Saṅsṛipa Havi*, and it required eight plattersful of butter for Agni, frumenty for Sarasvatí, and twelve plattersful of butter for Savitá, the offering to each divinity being accompanied by an appropriate fee.

Next came the rite called *Das'apeya*. Preparations for it were made previously, and they included the purchase and expression of the juice of the Soma vine, and the brewing of the same into beer. Immediately after the performance of the last named rite, a series of offerings were made to the fire with this beer, and then a cupful of it was offered to the Emperor, who quaffed it after repeating a mantra. He then

presented largesses to all the officiating priests, including two golden mirrors to the Adhvaryu, a golden necklace and his own outer garment to the Udgátá, golden bracelets to the Hotá, a horse each to the Prastotá and the Pritihartá, twelve heads of pregnant young heifers to the Brahmá, a barren cow to the Mitrávaruṇa, a vigorous bull to the Brahman-achhañsi, clothes to the Neshṭri and Potri, a cart loaded with barley to the Achchhávāka, and a bullock to the Agnidhra.

Next followed certain offerings of butter, curds and frumenty to Agni, Indra, Vis'vedeváh, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Vṛihaspati, and the sacrifice of a pregnant goat having well developed teats under the neck to Áditya, and that of a pregnant heifer to the Maruts.

The last rite in this long list of ceremonies and sacrifices was called *Sautrámaṇi*, or the offering of rice spirit. Preparations for it were made from three days previously, when young dried dates *(krala)*, small round plums *(vadari)*, and myrobalans *(haritaki)* were brought, carefully cleaned, deprived of their stalks and calyces, and powdered, then three kinds of the fur—of the lion, the tiger and the wolf—were mixed with the powders, along with barley meal, yeast and tender blades of durba grass, and allowed to ferment in a large vessel of water. When the fermentation was complete, the liquor was strained and preserved for use. After the performance of the rite named in the last preceding para., a brown goat and a bull were sacrificed, and offerings were made with this liquor, as also with butter and frumenty, and the ceremony was closed by the Emperor quaffing a goblet-ful of the exhilarating liquor.

The rituals given in the Black and the White Yajush thus limit the Abhisheka to one sprinkling and one bathing; but the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Ṛig Veda recommends three kinds of bathing: 1st, called *Abhisheka* for kings; 2nd, *Purṇábhisheka* for superior kings, and 3rd, *Mahábhisheka* for

emperors. Its details are different, but from the mantras given, the second bathing appears to correspond to a great extent with the ritual above given. The object of the third is thus described: "The priest who, with this knowledge (about the *Mahábhisheká* ceremony as described in a preceding part of the work) wishes that a Kshatríya should conquer in all the various ways of conquest, to subjugate all people, and that he should attain to leadership, precedence, and supremacy over all kings, and attain everywhere and at all times to universal sovereignty, enjoyment (of pleasures), independence, distinguished distinction as a king, the fulfilment of the highest desires, the position of a king, of a great king, and supreme mastership, that he might cross (with his arms) the universe, and become the ruler of the whole earth during all his life, which may last for an infinitely long time, that he might be the sole king of the earth up to its shores bordering on the ocean; such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatríya with Indra's great inauguration ceremony."* Such a blessing, however was not easily granted. Before granting it, the priest was required to demand from the king the following in the form of an oath: "Whatever pious works thou mightest have done during the time which may elapse from the day of thy birth to the day of thy death, all these together with thy position, thy good deeds, thy life, thy childern, I would wrest from thee shouldst thou do me any harm."†

The utensils required for the ceremony were very much the same as noticed before, but the fluid for the bathing instead of including eighteen kinds of water and other substances, comprised only four kinds of fruit, powdered, curds, honey, clarified butter, and rain-water fallen during sunshine, all mixed in a bucket of Udumbara wood. The mixture was too repulsive to be poured over the head, and so it was

* Haug's Translation, p. 519. † Loc. cit.

used only for sprinkling over the person of the king. The drinking of the Soma beer and spirituous liquor then followed, for the latter of which the following mantras are given : "Of what juicy well-prepared beverage Indra drank with his associates, of the same, *viz.*, king Soma, I drink here with my mind being devoted to him." "To thee who growest like a bullock (Indra) by drinking Soma, I send off (the Soma juice) which was squeezed to drink it ; may it satiate thee and make thee well drunk."*

The effect of the drinking is thus described by the author of the Bráhmaṇa : "The drinking of spirituous liquor, or Soma, or the enjoyment of some other exquisite food, affects the body of the Kshatríya who is inaugurated by means of Indra's great inauguration ceremony, just as pleasantly and agreeably till it falls down, as the son feels such an excess of joy when embracing his father, or the wife when embracing her husband, as to lose all self-command."†

It is nowhere stated whether the whole or only a part of the ceremonies above described was observed by Yudhishṭhira. Each school of Vedic priests having had their own separate system of ritual, it is to be presumed that Yudhishṭhira must have followed one of them, and consequently omitted some details. It is not known to which school his family priest Dhaumya belonged, but the school of the client must have been the same as that of the priest.

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* Haug's Translation, p. 522. † Ibid., p. 523.

X.

ON HUMAN SACRIFICES IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Human sacrifices common in ancient times. Primitive conceptions of the Divinity. Anthropomorphic character of the Divinity suggestive of human sacrifices. Other causes. Thank-offerings after successful battles. Difficulty of feeding prisoners. Vindictiveness. Capital Punishment at fixed periods. Vows. Funeral rites. Magical rites. Anthropophagism. Instances from the practices of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Druids, Scythians, Greeks, Trojans, Romans, Cyclops, Lamiæ, Lestrygons. Syrens. Story of Saturn. Cretans. Cyprians. Assyrians. Egyptians. Jews. Aztecs. Khonds. Toltecs. Tezcaucans. Incas. Peruvians. Africans. Mongols. Dyaks. Chinese. Japanese. Human sacrifices at Funerals. Remains in barrows. Ashantis. Yucatans. Hindus. Story of S'unahs'epha. Story in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. Naramedha in the White Yajur Veda. Ditto in the Black Yajur Veda. Different gods and goddesses to whom human victims should be offered. Details of the sacrifice in the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa. Human sacrifice at the As'vamedha. Directions in the Káliká Puráṇa. Symbolical offering. Offering of human blood. Summary.

NOTHING can be more abhorrent to modern civilization than the idea of slaughtering human victims for the propitiation of the great Father of the universe; yet, looking to the character of the different systems of religion which governed the conscience of man in primitive times, it would by no means be unreasonable to assume *à priori* that such an idea should have been pretty common, if not universal.

The tendency to assign human attributes to the Divinity was a marked peculiarity in almost all systems of religion that then got into currency. The ideal of God was derived from the concrete man. The attributes were doubtless magnified manifold, but their character remained the same—they differed only in degree, but not in kind. A being of unlim-

ited power, of profound erudition, of great subtlety, was what the untutored finite mind of man could conceive in its aspirations to grasp the infinite; and as those aspirations were inspired by a dread of some, to it, unknown force which brings on misfortune, the human susceptibilities of being vexed at disobedience and appeased by flattery and peace-offering, were early attributed to him. In fact a cruel, fierce, vindictive being, whose grace could be purchased by coaxing and presents, was one of the earliest conceptions of the God-head among primitive races. With the advancement of civilization this conception was materially and greatly purified and improved, but the idea of winning the good-will of an offended, or indifferently disposed, being of great power could not be shaken off, and the coaxing and the presents had, therefore, to be retained under some shape or other. All mantras, charms, and prayers—all offerings, oblations, and sacrifices—in fact, the whole history of religion, may be looked upon as the gradual development of this cardinal idea. And inasmuch as the efficacy of an offering, in the case of man, is dependant upon its nearness of relation and preciousness to the offerer, and in primitive times the prime of the flock was the most valued article of possession, sacrifices of animals naturally obtained the highest place in the cultus of ancient worshippers. The owner of the flock was, of course, the nearest and most precious to himself, and his children, the next after him, and accordingly they would be deemed the most appropriate to be offered as sacrifices; though, generally speaking, the main object of worship, in early times, having been the temporal good of the worshipper, it was by no means convenient for him to offer himself as a sacrifice for it. Children, particularly when there happened to be several in a family, could be more readily spared, and they would accordingly be more frequently given up for the purpose.

Next, working out, with reference to the Divinity, the human practice of professing submission by putting oneself into privations and degradation in the presence of the person whose good-will has to be secured, penance and mortification early formed a part of religion, and indeed have been co-extensive with religion itself; and the conclusion was soon arrived at, that if the mortification of the flesh was gratifying to the Divinity, its entire dedication to Him would be much more so. But self-love here intervened, and suggested the idea of substitutes or vicarious sacrifice, which has exercised so potent an influence in the evolution of the religious cultus everywhere.

Further, rejoicings after success in warfare formed a most important element in the annals of primitive society, and as such successes were universally acknowledged to be due to divine interference, the idea of offering to the intervener the fruits thereof was but natural, and the offering of prisoners-of-war as sacrifices was the obvious conclusion arrived at.

The extreme difficulty of keeping in security and feeding large bodies of prisoners-of-war has often suggested the necessity of summarily disposing of them by slaughter,—even Napoleon I., it is said, once felt compelled to resort to the odious method of poisoning some of his sick comrades whom he could not carry away in his march from Jaffa,*—and in ancient times, with no secure prisons and defective commissariat and transport arrangements, when the victors themselves had to depend upon chance for their own rations, it must have been but too frequently felt; and two massacres

* Dr. Desgentiles, in his *Histoire Medicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, denies this charge, but Napoleon himself says, "I was obliged to leave behind all who could not follow us. There were fifty men sick of the plague who could not move with the army, and who must be left to the ferocious Djezzar. I caused opium to be administered to them to release them from their suffering." Jomini, I, p. 231. The charge was at the time generally believed.

under such compulsions would suffice to give them a religious character, and render them sacred.

The capital punishment of criminals at stated times would also assume a similar character in a short period. Vindictiveness has, likewise, had a share as much in suggesting human sacrifices as in bringing anthropophagism into vogue.

Further, it being admitted that a fierce, sanguinary divinity, who helped his worshippers in achieving success in warfare, would delight in receiving sanguinary offerings, vows and promises to make them on the result of a projected, or impending, battle proving favourable, or on the attainment of some coveted object, would naturally follow ; and the simple-minded people who made such vows and promises would not fail to keep them with punctilious care.

Moreover, the practice, so common in pre-historic and proto-historic times (and not altogether a thing of the past in the present day), of showing respect or affection to chiefs and seniors at their funerals by slaughtering, and sometimes, but rarely, burying alive some of their wives, concubines, and slaves, as also their horses and dogs, to accompany them, and to minister to their comfort in another world, was, by its frequent repetition on so solemn an occasion as a funeral, just what would give a religious character to such slaughter, and convert it into a holy sacrifice.

Yet again, the art of the magician, which in primitive times included that of the sorcerer and the soothsayer, had to resort to the most outlandish, uncouth, and extraordinary means to retain its hold on the minds of ignorant, credulous, and superstitious people, and what could be more mysterious and awe-inspiring than communion with the dead and the slaughter of human beings under the most harrowing circumstances? and that such slaughter under the peculiar state of ancient society would be associated with religion was but natural.

Lastly, a vitiated desire for human flesh as an article of choice food was, it would seem, pretty prevalent in rude, primitive barbarous times, but as this desire could not be satisfied except at uncertain times when strangers or prisoners were available, the indulgence in it necessarily partook of the character of a festival, and that again soon passed into a religious observance.

Thus anthropopathy resulting in devotion, penance, rejoicings, vows, and desire to avert evil, or secure a coveted object by divine intervention, vindictiveness, expediency, respect for the dead, necromancy and depraved appetite, would all tend to human sacrifices; and that they did so, is abundantly evident from the history of human civilization in ancient times. To quote, however, a few instances by way of proofs, though many of them must be familiar to most of my readers.

The Phœnicians frequently offered human victims to their sanguinary gods Ba'al and Moloch to appease their thirst for blood. The Carthaginians did the same to the same divinities. The Druids, both in Great Britain and Scandinavia, likewise, satisfied the spirit of their gods by human sacrifices, often burning large numbers of men in wicker baskets. The Scythians testified their devotion by immolating hundreds at a time. In the Thargalia of the Athenians, a man and a woman were annually sacrificed to expiate the sins of the nation. Homer mentions that twelve Trojan captives were killed at the funeral of Patroclos,* and Meneláos was seized by the Egyptians for sacrificing young children with the Greek notion of appeasing the winds.† As an act of vindictive devotion, Augustus immolated three hundred citizens of Perusia before his deified uncle Divus Julius. The cruel practice of the Cyclops feasting on their prisoners-of-war is well-known. According to Euripides,

* Il. XI. 33. † Herodot., II., 119.

" the most agreeable repast to the Cyclops was the flesh of strangers,"* and Homer describes that six of the comrades of Ulysses were devoured by Scylla in the cavern of the Cyclops.† One passage on the subject gives a vivid picture of the cruel practice, and I quote Pope's version of it entire.

"He answered with his deed; his bloody hand
Snatched two of my unhappy martial band,
And dashed like dogs against the rocky floor.
The pavement swims with brains and mingled gore.
Torn limb from limb, he spreads the horrid feast,
And fierce devours it like a mountain beast.
He sucks the marrow, and the blood he drains;
Nor entrails, flesh, nor solid bone remains.
We see the death, from which we cannot move,
And humbled groan beneath the hand of Jove."

Od. L., v. 282.

Doubtless there is much poetical embellishment in this extract, but divested of it it shows that the Cyclops indulged in human sacrifice. The cavern evidently was, like many others on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, temples where the horrid rite of anthropothusia was regularly observed, and shipwrecked mariners were the persons who afforded the readiest victims.

The Lamiæ and the Lestrygons were equally cruel in their religious observances. Adverting to the former, Bryant says, " Lamiæ were not only to be found in Italy, and Sicily, but Greece, Pontus, and Libya. And however widely they may have been separated, they are still represented in the same unfavourable light. Euripides says that their very name was detestable. Philostratus speaks of their bestial appetite, and unnatural gluttony. And Aristotle alludes to practices still more shocking: as if they tore open the bodies big with

Euripides, Cyclops, V. 126. † Bryant's Ancient Mythology, II., pp. 15 ff.

child, that they might get at the infant to devour it. I speak, says he, of people, who have brutal appetites.*

"These descriptions are perhaps carried to a great excess; yet the history was founded on truth: and shews plainly what fearful impressions were left upon the minds of men from the barbarity of the first ages.

"One of the principal places in Italy, where the Lamiæ seated themselves, was about Formiæ; of which Horace takes notice in his Ode to Ælius Lamia.

> Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo, &c.
> Auctore ab illo ducis originem
> Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
> Princeps, et innantem Maricæ
> Littoribus tenuisse Lirim.

"The chief temple of the Formians was upon the sea-coast at Caiete. It is said to have had its name from a woman who died here; and whom some make the nurse of Æneas, others of Ascanius, others still of Creusa.† The truth is this: it stood near a cavern, sacred to the god Ait, called Ate, Atis, and Attis; and it was hence called Caieta, and Caiatta. Strabo says, that it was denominated from a cave, though he did not know the precise etymology.‡ There were also in the rock some wonderful subterranes, which branched out into various apartments. Here the ancient Lamii, the priests of Ham, resided:§ Silius Italicus, when he speaks of the place, styles it Regnata Lamo Caieta.|| They undoubtedly sacrificed children here, and probably the same custom was common among the Lamii, as prevailed among the Lacedæmonians, who used to whip their children round the altar of Diana Orthia. Thus much we are assured by Fulgentius, and others, that the usual term among the ancient Latines

* Aristol. Ethics, L. 7., c. 6., p. 118. † Virgil. Æn. L. 7. V. 1.
‡ Strabo, L. 5, p. 357. § Ibid., p. 356. || Silius, L. 8.

for the whipping of children was Caiatio. Apud Antiquos Caiatio dicebatur puerilis cædes."*

It is generally believed that the Syrens were no other then priestesses of anthropothusiac temples on the coast of Campania, and they derived their infamous notoriety, most probably, from the part they took in the immolation of shipwrecked mariners; "for Campania at one time was as dreaded as Rhegium and Sicily, for the dangers which awaited those who navigated their coasts." The priestesses were invariably selected with special reference to their personal charms, and the most important part in the service of their temples was singing of hymns in which the Syrens were so far perfect, that they were formerly believed to have been the daughters of Terpsichore according to some, and of Melpomene or Calliope according to others. After quoting the account of the Syrens given by Homer (Od. M. v., 39, et seq.), Bryant says "The story at bottom relates to the people above-mentioned, who with their music used to entice strangers into the purlieus of their temples, and then put them to death. Nor was it music only, with which persons were induced to follow them. The female part of their choirs were (*sic*) maintained for a twofold purpose, both on account of their voices and their beauty. They were accordingly very liberal of their favours, and by these means enticed seafaring persons, who paid dearly for their entertainment."† That Scylla, who destroyed some of the followers of Ulysses and of whom mention has already been made, was a priestess of this class, is now generally admitted. According to Tzetzes, "she was originally a handsome wench, but being too free with seafaring people, she made herself a beast." "Ἦν δὲ πρῶτον Σκύλλα γύνη εὐπρεπής. Ποσειδῶνι δὲ συνοῦσα ἀπεθηριώθη."

* De Virgilianâ, contimentiâ, p. 762. Bryant's Ancient Mythology. II., pp. 15 ff.

† Bryant's Ancient Mythology, II., p. 20

The story of Saturn devouring his own children—a failing which has also been attributed to Ops, and, according to a passage of Euhemerus transmitted by Ennis, said to have been common among "the rest of mankind"—Saturnum et Opem, cæterosque tum homines humanam carnem solitos esitare—is very justly supposed by Bryant to be due to the practice of immolation of children in the temples of that divinity "in a ceremony styled ὠμοφάγια, at which time they eat the flesh quite crude with the blood. In Crete, at the Dionusiaca, they used to tear the flesh with their teeth from the animal, when alive. This they did in commemoration of Dionysos. Festos funeris dies statuunt, et annuum sacrum trieterică consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes, quæ puer moriens aut fecit, aut passus est. Vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeles epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes. Apollonius Rhodius, speaking of persons like to Bacchanalians, represents them (Θυιάσιν ὠμοβόροις ἴκελαι) as savage as the Thyades, who delighted in bloody banquets. Upon this the scholiast observes, that the Mænades and Bacchæ, used to devour the raw limbs of animals, which they had cut or torn asunder. In the island of Chios it was a religious custom to tear a man's limb by way of sacrifice to Dionysos. The same obtained in Tenedos. It is Porphyry who gives the account. He was a staunch Pagan, and his evidence on that account is of consequence. He quotes for the rites of Tenedos Euelpis the Carystian. From all which we may learn one sad truth, that there is scarce any thing so impious and unnatural, as not at times to have prevailed."* It is said, Orpheus first put a stop to this disgustingly cruel custom; but, according to some, he only stopped the practice of eating raw flesh, but did not succeed in altogether suppressing the rite. Bernhard Schmidt, in his Griechische Sagat Munchanas, says that it is

* Bryant's Ancient Mythology, II, pp. 12 ff.

probable from the expressions of Pausaneas that human sacrifices were celebrated on mount Lykaion in Arcadia in his time. Traditions still subsist among the people of that region, according to Schmidt.

Referring to the inhabitants of Cyprus, Herodotus says: "the people of this place worship the virgin goddess Artemis; at whose shrine they sacrifice all persons who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast: and all the Grecians that they can lay hold of, when they are at any time thither driven.

All these they, without any ceremony, brain with a club. Though others say that they shove off headlong from a precipice, for their temple is founded upon a cliff."* This Artemis was the counterpart of the Indian Kálí, to whom human sacrifices were offered until very recently, as will be shown further on. Even the casting of the victim headlong from the top of a cliff was not unknown in India, for we are informed by Dr. Hendley in his interesting account of the Maiwár Bhíls† that "at installations at Jodhpore, buffaloes and goats are to this day sacrificed in front of the four-armed Deví, and thrown down the rock face of the fort. So again, at the very ancient temple of Deví on the Chitor Hill." "These are," he adds, "relics of aboriginal worship;" but of this there is no proof. "A goat is still offered daily at the shrine of Ambádeví, at Amber the ancient capital of Dhundár, or Jaipúr, as a substitute for the human victim formerly stated to have been sacrificed at the same place." The story of the Deví who wanted and got seven consecutive royal victims from a chieftain of Chitor, so spiritedly narrated by Colouel Tod, must be fresh in the mind of the reader.

The Assyrians, like the people on the shores of the Mediterranean, freely indulged in human sacrifices, and ima-

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* L. IV, C. 103. † Journal As. Soc. XLIV, p. 350.

gined that such sacrifices, were the most acceptable offerings they could make to their gods.

Acccording to Diodorus "red-haired men were, formerly sacrificed by the Egyptian kings at the altar of Osiris."* And Plutarch quotes a passage from Manetho to show that "formerly in the city of Idithya, they were wont to burn even men alive, giving them the name of Typhons, and winnowing their ashes through a sieve to scatter and disperse them in the air; which human sacrifices were performed in public, at a stated season of the year during 873."† Herodotus denied the correctness of these statements; and Sir Gardner Wilkinson argues that "it is directly contrary to the usages of the Egyptians, and totally inconsistent with the feeling of a civilized people;" but religious observances and social customs are such irreconcilable riddles that *á priori* arguments founded on them appear to me to be simply unfit for the elucidation of truth Few would question the civilization of the Romans—so much higher than that of the Egyptians—or, admitting it, deny the fact that they devoted their prisoners-of-war to carnage for the entertainment of the people of their metropolis; not to advert to their practice of sacrificing human victims until so recently as the first century before the Christian era, when, (A. U. C. 657) during the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Crassus, a decree was promulgated by the senate prohibiting human sacrifices.‡ The horrors of the Inquisition during the middle ages may also be referred to, to show how the immolation of large numbers of men may be consistent with a high state of civilization and a humane religion. Certain it is that the principles on which human sacrifices got into currency were fully recognised by the Egyptians; thus they held that sacrifices ought not to be of things in themselves agreeable to the gods, but, on the contrary, of creatures into which the souls of the wicked have passed.

* Diodor., I., 88. † Athen., IV. p. 172. ‡ Pliny, XXX, c. 3.

(Plutarch, des Is. s. 31); they offered the entrails of the dead to certain inferior gods or genii; and their kings, after every victory, repaired to the temple of their chief divinity, "performed sacrifice, offered suitable thanksgivings," and lastly, "dedicated the spoil of the conquered enemy, and expressed their gratitude for the privilege of laying before the feet of the god, the giver of victory, those prisoners they had brought to the vestibule of the divine abode."* It may be that the actual sacrifice of men took place at a very early period, and it was subsequently replaced by emblematic offering; but there is no reason to doubt that at one time or other the rite of anthropethusia did obtain currency among them. Wilkinson, with all his anxiety to defend the credit of the Egyptians, is constrained to admit this.†

The ancient Jews were in many respects better than their neighbours, but the idea of human sacrifice seems not to have been unknown to them. When Abraham was commanded to offer up his son, he did not even evince any repugnance or surprise, and the vow of Jeptha, which was literally carried out by the sacrifice of his daughter, affords a positive proof on the subject. The offering of children to Moloch, which the Jews evidently borrowed from their neighbours, is also remarkable as bearing strongly on the question at issue. We read also that when hard-pressed in battle the king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son as a burnt-offering to the Divinity—(II Kings, III, 27).

A curious phase in the offering of children to Moloch is noticeable in the history of Carthage, "The Carthaginians had been overcome and hard pressed in the war with Agathokles, and they set down the defeat to divine wrath. Kronos (Moloch) had in former times received the sacrifice of the chosen of their sons, but of late they had put him off with children bought and nourished for the purpose. In fact they had

*Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians II., p. 286. † Ibid., II., p. 343.

obeyed the sacrificers' natural tendency to substitution, but now in time of misfortune the reaction set in. To balance the account and condone the parsimonious fraud, a monstrous sacrifice was celebrated. Two hundred children, of the noblest of the land, were brought to the idol of Moloch. 'For there was among them a brazen statue of Kronos, holding out his hands sloping downward, so that the child placed on them rolled off and fell into a certain chasm full of fire.' "*

Grimm, in his "Teutonic Mythology,"† has given ample evidences to show that the custom of offering human sacrifices was at one time common among the Germans and the Norsemen. He says: "as a rule, the victims were captive enemies, purchased slaves, or great criminals; the sacrifice of women and children by the Frank on crossing a river reminds one of the Greek διαβατήρια; the first fruits of war, the first prisoner taken, was supposed to bring luck. In Folk-tales we find traces of the immolation of *children;* they were killed as a cure for leprosy; they were walled up in basements (ch. XXXV., XXXVI., end); and a feature that particularly points to a primitive sacrificial rite is, that toys and victuals are handed in to the child, while the roofing-in is completed. Among the Greeks and Romans, likewise, the victims fell amid noise and flute-playing, that their cries might be drowned, and the tears of children are stifled with caresses, 'ne flebilis hostia immoletur.' Extraordinary events might demand the death of king's sons and daughters, nay, of kings themselves. Thors offers up *his son* to the gods; (Worm Mondan, 285.) King Oen the old, sacrificed nine sons one after the other to Odin for his long life;‡ (Yugl saga, cap. 29.) And the Swedes in a grievous famine, when other

* Diodorous Siculus, XX, 15. Apud Tylor's Primitive Culture, II, 365-6.

† II., 44.

‡ To the Indian reader this will recall to mind the nine successive princes whom Ráná Langá of Mewar offered to the goddess Chámuṇḍá whose unappeased hunger at last needed the head of the old king himself. Tod's Rajasthan.

great sacrifices proved unavailing, offered up their *own king*, Domaldi; (*ibid.* cap. 18. Stallybrass' translation, I, pp. 45f.)

Of all the different races of America, the Aztecs were the most civilized. Their social institutions, their palaces, their elective form of government, were such as to claim for them a very high position as a nation, and yet their addiction to human sacrifice was such as would disgrace the lowest savages. At their coronations, "the new monarch," says Prescott, "was installed in his regal dignity with much parade of religious ceremony; but not until, by victorious campaign, he had obtained a sufficient number of captives to grace his triumphal entry into the capital, and to furnish victims for the dark and bloody rites which stained the Aztec superstition."* The number immolated at such times was prodigious; nor was the coronation the only time when this horrid rite was celebrated. Adopted in the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was not very frequent at first; "it became," according to the historian, "more frequent with the wider extent of their empire, till at length, almost every festival was closed with this cruel abomination."† The total was variously estimated at from twenty thousand to fifty thousand in ordinary years, and rising, on great occasions, such as a coronation or the dedication of an important temple, as that of Huitzilpotchli in 1486, to a hundred thousand. The heads of the victims were preserved in Golgothas, in one of which the companions of Cortes counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand skulls. The details varied according to circumstances, and the nature of the divinity to whose honour the rite was celebrated, but they were generally of the most disgusting and cruel kind possible; attended by preliminary tortures, which Prescott justly compares with the fantastic creations of the Florentine poet as pictured in the twenty-first canto of his 'Inferno.' Neither sex nor age

* Conquest of Mexico, I., p. 22. † Ibid., p. 67.

offered an immunity to the unfortunate captive from his cruel doom, and in seasons of draught, infants were particularly sought as the meetest offering to the rain-god Tlụloc. The object in this case was exactly the same for which the Khonḍs of western Orissa sacrificed their Meriah to the earth Goddess, Tári Pennu, and the manner in which they treated the Meria corresponds in many respects with that of the Aztecs. The following extract gives the details of an ordinary sacrifice of the Aztecs:

"One of their most important festivals was that in honour of the god Tezcatlepoca, whose rank was inferior only to that of the Supreme Being. He was called 'the soul of the world,' and supposed to have been its Creator. He was depicted as a handsome man, endowed with perpetual youth. A year before the intended sacrifice, a captive, distinguished for his personal beauty, and without a blemish on his body, was selected to represent this deity. Certain tutors took charge of him, and instructed him how to perform his new part with becoming grace and dignity. He was arrayed in a splendid dress, regaled with incense, and with a profusion of sweet-scented flowers, of which the ancient Mexicans were as fond as their descendants at the present day. When he went abroad, he was attended by a train of the royal pages, and, as he halted in the streets to play some favourite melody, the crowd prostrated themselves before him and did him homage as the representative of their good deity. In this way he led an easy, luxurious life, till within a month of his sacrifice. Four beautiful girls, bearing the names of the principal goddesses, were then selected to share the honours of his bed; and with them he continued to live in idle dalliance, feasted at the banquets of the principal nobles, who paid him all the honours of a divinity.

"At length the fatal day of sacrifice arrived. The term of his short-lived glories was at an end. He was stripped of

his gaudy apparel, and bade adieu to the fair partners of his revelries. One of the royal barges transported him across the lake to a temple which rose on its margin, about a league from the city. Hither the inhabitants of the capital flocked, to witness the consummation of the ceremony. As the sad procession wound up the sides of the pyramid, the unhappy victim threw away his gay chaplets of flowers, and broke in pieces the musical instruments with which he had solaced the hours of captivity. On the summit he was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks, flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphic scrolls of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone, a huge block of jasper, with its upper surface somewhat convex. On this the prisoner was stretched. Five priests secured his head and his limbs: while the sixth, clad in a scarlet mantle, emblematic of his bloody office, dexterously opened the breast of the wretched victim with a sharp razor of *itztli*, a volcanic substance hard as flint,—and, inserting his hand in the wound, tore out the palpitating heart. The minister of death, first holding this up towards the sun, an object of worship throughout Anahac, cast it at the feet of the deity to whom the temple was devoted, while the multitudes below prostrated themselves in humble adoration. The tragic story of this prisoner was expounded by the priests as the type of human destiny, which, brilliant in its commencement, too often closes in sorrow and disaster."*

Nor did the Aztecs rest satisfied with this offering to their gods. "The most loathsome part of the story, the manner in which the body of the sacrificed captive was disposed of, remains to be told. It was delivered to the warrior who had taken him in battle, and by him, after being dressed, was served up in an entertainment to his friends. This was not the coarse repast of famished cannibals, but a banquet

* Conquest of Mexico, I., pp. 68ff.

teeming with delicious viands, prepared with art, and attended by both sexes, who, as we shall see hereafter, conducted themselves with all the decorum of civilized life. Surely, never were refinement and the extreme of barbarism brought so closely in contact with each other."* Well may the historian exclaim, "Strange that in every country the most fiendish passions of the human heart have been kindled in the name of religion."

The neighbours of the Aztecs, the Toltecs, and the Tezcaucans, as also the Incas, indulged in the loathsome and revolting rite, and often waged war with each other, simply for the sake of obtaining captives for their gods. It is even said that such wars were sometimes amicably arranged solely for the sake of captives for sacrifice.†

In South America, the Peruvians were strongly addicted to human sacrifices. Among the Incas when a great chief fell dangerously ill, he generally offered one of his sons to the deity, imploring him to take the youth as his substitute. The Araucanians, though they are said to have been "sensible to the dictates of compassion," and a mild, sensible race, averse to cruelty, were nevertheless sometimes given to the same practice. They celebrated a rite called *Pruloucon*, or "the Dance of the Dead," at which a prisoner-of-war was "sacrificed to the manes of the soldiers killed in the war." After subjecting the unfortunate victim to various kinds of ignominy, such as making him ride a horse deprived of his ears and tail, symbolically burying the good deeds of his national chiefs, and the like, "the Toqui, or one of his bravest companions to whom he relinquishes the honour of the execution, dashes out the brains of the prisoner with a club. The heart is immediately taken out by two attendants and presented palpitating to the general, who sucks a little of the blood, and

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* Conquest of Mexico, p. 71.

† Ibid, p. 74. *Vide* passim Heaviside's 'American Antiquities.'

passes it to his officers, who repeat in succession the same ceremony, in the meantime he fumigates with tobacco-smoke from his pipe the four cardinal points of the circle. The soldiers strip the flesh from the bones, and make of them flutes; then cutting off the head, carry it round upon a pike amidst the acclamations of the multitude, while, stamping in measured pace, they thunder out their dreadful war-song, accompanied by the mournful sound of these horrid instruments."*

Of cannibalism pure and simple, such as that of some of the Pacific Islanders; of the people of Equatorial Africa, some of whom, the Murirumbites for instance, like human flesh raw, and others, like the Wadoe of the Coast, prefer to eat it roasted;† of the "Mongols, who, according to Sir John Maundeville, "regarded human ears sowced in vynegre as a delectable dish"; of the Dyaks of Borneo who delight in "head-hunts"; of some South Eastern Chinese and Japanese of the middle ages, who drank the blood and eat the flesh of their captives, esteeming the latter the most savoury food in the world; of the Tartars, Turks, Mongols, Tibetans, Javanese, Sumatras and Andamanese‡ I need say nothing.

* Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina's History of Chili, II., p 79. To Orpheus is attributed the credit of having put a stop, in Greece, to the cruel custom of eating raw flesh at religious sacrifices, though he failed to suppress the sacrifices.

† Burton's Lake Regions of Central Africa, II. p. 114; also Du Chaillu's Explorations in Equatorial Africa.

‡ Col. Yule has collected a large number of facts illustrative of this subject, and I must refer the reader to his note. Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., I., pp. 302 ff.; II., pp. 245, 265, 275, 292. Adverting to Christiandom, he says "The story of King Richard's banquet, in presence of Saladin's ambassadors, on the head of a Saracen curried (for so it surely was),—

'Soden full hastily
With powder and with spysory,
And with saffron of good colour,'

fable as it is, is told with a zest that makes one shudder; but the tale in the *Chanson d' Antioche*, of how the licentious bands of ragamuffins, who hung on the army of the First Crusade, and were known as the *Tafurs*, ate the Turks whom they killed at the siege, looks very like an abominable truth, corroborated as it is

The facts are well known; and however repulsive it may be to our common humanity to be told of them it cannot be denied, that men under certain circumstances of society, do take to human flesh as an article of food.

That the practice of immolating wives, concubines, and slaves, at first originating from a mistaken sense of the future world and the requirements of the manes, did lead to associating such slaughter with religion can scarcely be doubted. "When a man of rank dies," says Mr. Tylor, "and his soul departs to its own place, whenever and whatever that place may be, it is a natural inference of early philosophy that the soul of attendants, slaves, and wives, put to death at his funeral, will make the same journey, and continue thus serving in the real life, and the argument is frequently stretched further, to include the souls of new victims sacrificed in order that they may enter upon the same ghostly servitude."* In support of this view of the subject he adduces a great number of instances, to which I beg to refer the curious reader.

Adverting to the Crestonian's Herodotus says, (B. V. 5.) "Each man among them has several wives; and no sooner does a man die than a sharp contest ensues among the wives upon the question, which of them all the husband loved most tenderly; the friends of each eagerly plead on her behalf, and she to whom the honour is adjudged, after receiving the praises both of men and women, is slain over the grave by the hand of her next of kin, and then buried with her husband. The others are sorely grieved, for nothing is considered such a disgrace."

The cruel rite of Satí must have originated from this cause, though the love and constancy of Hindu women soon gave it a high character for devotion as a voluntary sacrifice. The immolation of twelve Trojan youths, along

by the prose chronicle of worse deeds at the ensuing siege of Thorra." *Loc. cit.*

* Tylor's Primitive Culture I., p. 413.

with two dogs and four horses, on the funeral pyre of Patroclos* belongs to this class; and Tertullian says—"Olim quoniam animas defunctorum humano sanguine propitiari creditum est, captivos vel mali status servos mercati in exsequiis immolabant. Postea placuit impietatem voluptati adumbrare. Ita mortem homicidiis consolabantur."†—It is supposed by some that the broken bones found in the Long Barrows of Great Britain are mostly of persons buried alive along with the individuals to whose honour the barrows were raised. The opinion, however, has, I believe, not been generally accepted by antiquarians.

For later times Dr. Thurnem has put together a large number of instances of this practice, and the curious in such matters will find incontrovertible proofs on the subject in the thirty-seventh, the thirty-eighth, and the forty-second volumes of the 'Archæologia.'

The human sacrifices in the temples on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, to which reference has already been made, were often connected with soothsaying, the priests foretelling the future from the appearance of the entrails of the victim, and elsewhere the connexion of human sacrifice with necromancy, magic, sorcery, and other dark arts can be easily pointed out. Some alchemists slaughtered infants to help them in their attempt at discovering the elixir of life; but I doubt if it led to any religious sacrifice.

The only two instances I am aware of of periodical jail delivery of prisoners sentenced to capital punishment leading to a religious festival, are the horrid rite which keeps the Ashantis in a whirl of excitement for a whole week every year, and that of the Yucatans;‡ but they are quite enough to show that the conclusion I wish to draw from them is perfectly legitimate.

* Il., XXIII., 239. † Tertullian, De Spectaculis, XII.
‡ Fancourt's History of Yucatan, p. 126.

The Persians were, perhaps, the only nation of ancient times who did not indulge in human sacrifice. As constituting the agricultural section of the great Aryan race, they contented themselves by offering the fruits of the field for the gratification of their divinity. And the Hindus, as more intimately connected with them than with the other branches of the Aryan race, we may suppose, did not differ much from the Persians ; but it is also certain that religious differences, depending principally upon the leaning of the Hindus in favour of animal sacrifice, made them break off from their brethren, and depart from their primitive home, and what is true of the Persians need not, therefore, necessarily be so of the Hindus. Besides there is nothing to show that they were incapable of doing what their contemporaries, the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans did in the way of religious rite, and what appears from the instances quoted above to have been a failing or predilection common to almost all mankind. They were certainly highly civilized for the time in which they flourished, and the spirit of their institutions was so benign and pacific, that it may strike us as inconsistent to associate with it the disgusting rite of human sacrifice. Arguing upon these premises, Colebrooke and Wilson have come to the conclusion "that human sacrifices were not authorised by the Veda itself, but were either then abrogated and an emblematic ceremony substituted in their place, or they were introduced in later times by the authors of such works as the Káliká Purána."* As a Hindu writing on the actions of my ancestors—remote though they are,—it would have been a source of great satisfaction to me if I could adopt this conclusion as true ; but I regret I cannot do so consistently with my allegiance to the cause of history. Doubtless the institutions of the Vedic Hindus were of a benign and humane character, and that they did not tolerate brutality to

* Journal, R. As. Soc., XIII, p. 107.

the extent that other ancient nations indulged in, I can well believe; but it must be added also that benign and humane as was the spirit of the ancient Hindu religion, it was not at all opposed to animal sacrifice; on the contrary, most of the principal rites required the immolation of large numbers of various kinds of beasts and birds. One of the rites enjoined required the performer to walk deliberately into the depth of the ocean, and drown himself to death. This was called *Maháprastháṇa*, and is forbidden in the present age. Another, an expiatory one, required the sinner to burn himself to death, on a blazing pyre—the *Tusháṇala*. This has not yet been forbidden; and it is what Calanus performed in the presence of Alexander the Great. The gentlest of beings, the simple-minded women of Bengal, were for a long time in the habit of consigning their first-born babes to the sacred river Ganges at Ságar Island, and this was preceded by a religious ceremony, though it was not authorised by any of the ancient rituals. For centuries men have courted death under the wheels of Jagannátha's car, under the delusion of that being the most meritorious act of devotion which they could perform, and with the fond assurance that they would thereby secure for themselves the highest reward in a future life. And if the spirit of Hindu religion has tolerated, countenanced, or promoted such acts, it would not be by any means unreasonable, or inconsistent, to suppose that it should have, in primitive times, recognised the slaughter of human beings as calculated to appease, gratify, and secure the grace of, the gods.

But to turn from presumptive evidence to the facts recorded in the Vedas. The earliest reference to human sacrifice occurs, according to the Hindus, in that most ancient record of the Aryan race, the Sañhitá of the Ṛig Veda, to which obviously Colebrooke and Wilson refer by the use of the word Veda in the singular number. The first book of

that work includes seven hymns* supposed to have been recited by one S'unahs'epha when he was bound to a stake, preparatory to being immolated. He prays earnestly that he may be allowed "to behold again his father and mother"; that "Varuṇa, undisdainful, may bestow a thought upon him"; that "he may not take away his existence"; that "he may not make the petitioner an object of death"; that "he may loose the petitioner from the upper bonds, and untie the centre, and the lower, so that he may live." One verse says "S'unahs'epha, seized and bound to the three-footed tree (the sacrificial post), has invoked the son of Aditi; may the regal Varuṇa, wise and irresistible, liberate him; may he let loose his bonds." (p. 63.) These quotations afford a strong presumptive evidence that S'unahse'pha was intended for a sacrifice; though there be no positive mention of the fact in the Sañhitá, and the hymns contain many prayers for wealth, cattle, and other blessings, which any person may ask without being in the position of a victim at a cruel sacrifice.

The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa of the Ṛig Veda gives the details of the story which connects these hymns with a human sacrifice. The story has been quoted at length by Wilson, in his paper "On the Sacrifice of Human Beings as an Element of the Ancient Religion of India"† and by Max Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," (pp. 408 ff.); who has also printed the text, and pointed out the variations of the Sánkháyaṇa Sútra version of it *(ibid,* p. 573*)*. It likewise occurs in its place in Haug's translation of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa (pp. 460 ff.), I need not, therefore, reproduce it here. Suffice it to say that according to it, one Haris'chandra had made a vow to immolate his first-born to Varuṇa, if that divinity would bless him with children: a child was born named Rohita, and Varuṇa claimed it; but

* Journal, R. As. Soc., XIII., pp. 96 ff.

† Wilson's Ṛig Veda, I., pp. 59 f.

the father evaded fulfilling his promise under various pretexts, until Rohita, grown up to man's estate, ran away from home, when Varuṇa afflicted the father with dropsy; at last Rohita purchased one S'unahs'epha from Ajigarta for a hundred head of cattle, had him tied to a stake, and was about to have him immolated in redemption of his father's vow to Varuṇa, when the victim, at the suggestion of Vis'vámitra, recited the hymns, and was thereby released. The story is, with some slight variations in minor details, reproduced in the Rámáyaṇa, the Mahábhárata, and the Bhágavata Puráṇa. The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa gives seriatim the initials of the several hymns as they were supposed to have been recited, and as they occur in the Sañhitá, but the other works refer to them generally, without any specific quotation.

It is unquestionable that the works in which the story is given, are of ages long subsequent to the date of the Sañhitá, and their evidence therefore cannot be accepted as conclusive. Arguing upon this datum and the absence of all mention of a human sacrifice in the Sañhitá, Rosen, Wilson and others are of opinion that the hymns cannot be associated with a human sacrifice. Wilson explains that the "upper, middle, and lower bonds" referred to in the hymns, and which Indian commentators accept to mean the thongs with which the head, the waist, and the legs of the victim were tied to the sacrificial post, have been used metaphorically to imply the bondage of sin; but he admits that the reference to the "three-footed tree," the sacrificial post, "is consistent with the popular legend."* He says nothing about the seizure, referred to in the verse above quoted, but that too affords a strong argument in favour of the interpretation adopted by the author of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. We have also to bear in mind that, whatever their age, the Bráhmaṇas are the oldest expositions we possess of the origin, scope and purport of the

* Ṛig Veda, I., p. 63.

hymns of the Sañhitás, dating as they do, according to European orientalists, from five to ten centuries before the Christian era, *and to reject their interpretation in favour of* conclusions drawn by persons of this century, would be to reject proof in favour of conjecture; and that conjecture founded, in many instances, upon very contracted and narrow views of modern canons of criticism, of laws of unity and propriety, of consistency and habits and modes of thinking, which are not always applicable to those records.

It may be noted also that the conclusion drawn by the learned orientalists from the above facts is, that the sacrifice of human beings did not form an element of the ancient religion of India, and this is not warranted by the premises. Doubtless the details of a sacrifice are not given in the Sañhitá, but, taking the Sañhitá to be, as it unquestionably is, only a collection of hymns divested of all connecting links, we have no right to expect them there. It would be as reasonable to expect all the details of a story in a hymn improvised by the hero of it, to meet a particular contingency, as to expect the whole plot of a novel from a single speech in it. The absence of reference to any rite, custom, or observance, in a book of hymns, however sacred that book may be, is no proof of that rite, custom, or observance having never existed among those who held the said hymns to be sacred. To accept it as such, is to attach an importance to negative evidence to which it has no claim, and in the case under notice there is enough, as shown above, to warrant an opposite conclusion.

Besides, "the ancient religion of India," referred to by the learned Professors Wilson and Rosen, can mean either the religion of the aborigines, or that of the Indo-Aryans, and as in the case of the former no reference would be required to the Vedas, it is to be presumed that the early religion of the Indo-Aryans is referred to; and if so, we

cannot look to the Sañhitá apart from the Bráhmaṇas. What we call ancient Hinduism is founded on the Bráhmaṇas, and cannot possibly be dissociated from it. We can easily conceive that the religion of the Aryans before they had finally settled in India differed from it in many respects, and we can found conjectures about it on certain slender facts to be gleaned from the Sañhitá of the Ṛig Veda and the Zendavesta ; but we cannot, without misleading, call that religion, whatever it was, "the religion of ancient India." The Bráhmaṇas may have, for aught we know to the contrary, changed the ancient rites, and introduced new ones ; and it is unquestionable that many of their legends and anecdotes were got up merely by way of illustrations, and have no claim to be believed as true, (the professors of the Mimáñsá school stigmatized them often as *arthaváda* or eulogistic) but we cannot discard them, and replace their testimony by conjecture.

At any rate, the story of S'unahs'epha must be accepted as a positive proof in favour of the theory that at the time of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, the Hindus did tolerate human sacrifice. To assume that the sacrifice referred to in it was a symbolical one in which there was no intention whatever to make a sanguinary offering, would be totally to destroy the *raison d'être* of the legend, to divest it of all its sensational elements, and to make it quite flat, stale, and unprofitable. The great object of the legend, whether it be intrinsically true or false, was to extol the merits of the hymns in rescuing a victim from a sacrificial stake ; but if the stake be divested of its horrors, that object would be entirely defeated. Then, if Harischandra did not intend actually to give up his son to Varuṇa, the promise to "sacrifice his son when born" would be unmeaning, and the frequent evasions he resorted to, by saying, "an animal is fit for being sacrificed when it is more than ten days old"; "it is not fit for sacrifice until it has teeth";

"it is not fit until the milk teeth are shed"; "it is not fit until the permanent teeth are all come out"; "a man of the warrior caste is fit for being sacrificed only after having received his full armour", were quite uncalled for, and gratuitous attempts at cheating a dread divinity whom he adored, and to whom he was bound by a solemn vow; for he could have at any time easily subjected the son to the ceremony of being tied to a stake, and after repeating a few mantras over him let him off, perfectly sound in wind and limb. The running away of the son from his father would also be unmeaning; the purchase of a substitute stupid; the payment of a fee of a hundred head of cattle to undertake the butcher's work quite supererogatory; and the sharpening of the knife by Ajigarta a vain preliminary. The Bráhmaṇa makes S'unahs'pha express much disgust at the sight of Ajigarta, his father, sharpening a knife to slaughter him. "What is not found even in the hand of a S'údra," it makes him say, "one has seen in thy hand, the knife to kill thy son"; but it has not a word in depreciation of the rite itself. It is said in the Bráhmaṇa that S'unahs'epha, after his rescue, was so disgusted with his father that he forsook him, and became the adopted son of Vis'vámitra, who named him *Devaráṭ* or *Diodotus*, "the god-given," and became the head of one of the several branches of the descendants of Vis'vámitra. S'unahs'epha was a grown-up man at the time, and was perfectly familiar with the S'ástras, for he is described to have, immediately after, officiated at the ceremony, and to have introduced some innovations in the ritual; if the whole rite were purely symbolical, he had no business to be offended with his father, a learned Bráhmaṇ of high caste, and become the adopted son of a Kshatriya.

The writer of this note claims to be a descendant of this Devaráṭ, and, in common with a large number of men in different parts of India, at every solemn ceremony, is

required by the S'ástras and the custom of his ancestors to describe himself as belonging to the tribe *(gotra)* of Vis'vámitra, and of the family *(pravara)* of Devarát; he is not prepared, therefore, to say that S'unahs'epha is purely a mythical personage; and seeing that, until the beginning of this century, the practice of offering the first-born to the river Ganges was common, and the story simply says that S'unahs'epha was offered to the water-god Varuṇa as a substitute for the first-born Rohita, he can perceive nothing in it inconsistent or unworthy of belief. The rescue, of course, is due to the intervention of Vis'vámitra, as supposed by Wilson, and not to the efficacy of the hymns, but that was not intended to form the most salient point of the story.

Exception has been taken to the theory of the sacrifice having been originally intended to be real on the ground of a story in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa which narrates that "the gods once killed a man for their sacrifice, but that part in him which was fit for being made an offering, went out and entered a horse"; then the horse being killed, it went to an ox; and the ox being killed, it went to a sheep; and the sheep being killed, it went to a goat; and the goat being killed, it went to the earth; and the gods, guarding the earth, seized the rice, the produce thereof, which, made into cakes, formed the best offering, and all the animals from which the sacrificial part had gone, became unfit for being sacrificed, and no one should eat them.* This story, how-

* I quote the entire passage from Haug's translation to enable the reader to judge for himself:

"The gods killed a man for their sacrifice. But that part in him which was fit for being made an offering, went out and entered a horse. Thence the horse became an animal fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed that man after that part which was only fit for being offered had gone from him, whereupon he became deformed.

"The gods killed the horse; but the part fit for being sacrificed (the *medha*) went out of it, and entered an ox; thence the ox became an animal fit for being

ever, proves too much. If it is to be accepted as an evidence against the existence of human sacrifice in the time of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, it must be allowed to tell equally

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sacrificed. The gods then dismissed (this horse) after the sacrificial part had gone from it, whereupon it turned to a white deer.

"The gods killed the ox; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of the ox, and entered a sheep; thence the sheep became fit for being sacrificed. The gods then dismissed the ox, which turned to a gayal (*Bos gavæus*).

"The gods killed the sheep; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of the sheep, and entered a goat; thence the goat became fit for being sacrificed. The gods dismissed the sheep, which turned to a camel.

"The sacrificial part (the *medha*) remained for the longest time (longer than in the other animals) in the goat; thence is the goat among all these animals pre-eminently fit for being sacrificed.

"The gods killed the goat; but the part fit for being sacrificed went out of it, and entered the earth. Thence the earth is fit for being offered. The gods then dismissed the goat, which turned to a S'arabha.

"All those animals from which the sacrificial part had gone, are unfit for being sacrificed; thence one should not eat (their flesh).

"After the sacrificial part had entered the earth, the gods surrounded it (so that no escape was possible); it then turned to rice. When they (therefore) divide the Purodâs'a into parts, after they have killed the animal, then they do it, wishing "might not animal sacrifice be performed with the sacrificial part (which is contained in the rice of the Purodâs'a)! might our sacrificial part be provided with the whole sacrificial essence!" The sacrificial animal of him who has such a knowledge becomes then provided with the sacrificial part, with the whole sacrificial essence. The Purodâs'a (offered at the animal sacrifice) is the animal which is killed. The chaff and straw of the rice of which it consists are the hairs of the animal, its husks the skin, its smallest particles the blood, all the fine particles to which the (cleaned) rice is ground (for making, by kneading it with water, a ball) represent the flesh (of the animal), and whatever other substantial part is in the rice, are the bones (of the animal). He who offers the Purodâs'a, offers the sacrificial substance of all animals (for the latter is contained in the rice of the Purodâs'a). Thence they say: the performance of the Purodas'a offering is to be attended to.

"Now he recites the Yâjyâ for the Vapâ (which is about to be offered) Yuvam etâni divi, *i. e.*, Ye, O Agni and Soma, have placed, by your joint labours, those lights on the sky! Ye Agni and Soma, have liberated the rivers which had been taken (by demons), from imprecation and defilement." *Haug's Translation*, pp. 90 ff.

against all animal sacrifices ; but curiously enough, immediately after the story, the Bráhmaṇa supplies the necessary mantras for offering the omentum *(Vapá)* of a slaughtered animal ; and, in five hundred different places, it furnishes directions for selecting, offering, slaughtering, and dividing among the officiating priests, goats, sheep, oxen, and other animals. In short, all the principal rites of the Bráhmaṇa period required animal sacrifices, and it would be absurd to believe on the strength of the story in question that in the time of the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa there was no horse sacrifice no cow sacrifice, no goat sacrifice, and everywhere rice cakes were substituted for sanguinary offerings. It would be equally absurd for the Puráṇas to prohibit the Purusha-medha and the horse sacrifice in the Kalíyuga, if they had been already prohibited in the Vedas. The fact, however, is, the story is simply eulogistic *(arthavâda)* and not at all intended to be prohibitive. In the Bráhmaṇas every rite, when being enjoined, is the best of rites, as in the Puráṇas every sacred pool is the holiest of the holy, and every god the greatest among gods ; and as the object of the story was to praise the rice cake, it at once made it supersede all other kinds of offering. The Mímáñsakas invariably adopt this style of explanation to reconcile all contradictory passages in the Vedas, and it is, I think, the only reasonable one that can be adopted in such cases. Jaimini distinctly lays down that " nothing is binding in the Vedas, which is not positively enjoined as a duty" *(Chodanálakshaṇo'rtho dharmah)*, and devotes a whole chapter (Book I, Chap, 2,) to what are mere *arthavâda* or eulogistic, including all Vedic legends under that head.

Colebrooke's opinion on the subject was founded upon a passage in the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa of the White Yajur Veda, in which the human victims at a Purushamedha are recommended to be let off after certain mantras had been repeated

over them; but that passage cannot be accepted as a proof in the case under notice. The word *Purusha-medha*, it is true, literally means "a human sacrifice"; but it is not a common term descriptive of every rite in which a human victim is offered to the gods, for there were several such; but a technical one, implying a specific ceremony to be performed in the spring season, according to certain fixed and, well-defined rules, which, according to the Purâṇas was altogether prohibited in the present iron age, and has no relation whatever to the sacrifice of children in redemption of vows. Whether the latter was ever prohibited or not I cannot state positively; but that the sacrifice of S'unahs'epha to the water-god Varuṇa was the type on which the offering of infants to the water-goddess Gangá at the confluence of the river of that name with the sea, the emblem of the water-god Varuṇa, I have no reason to doubt; and the latter was duly and pretty extensively observed for centuries, until finally put down by the British Government at the beginning of this century. It should be added here that the offering did not invariably or even generally lead to a murder, for a priest or bystander generally took up the child from the water, and brought him up as a foster son, very much in the same way as Vis'vámitra did in the case of S'unahs'epha.

The *Purusha-medha* was celebrated for the attainment of supremacy over all created beings. Its performance was limited to Bráhmaṇs and Kshatríyas. It could be commenced only on the tenth of the waxing moon in the month of Chaitra, and altogether it required forty days for its performance, though only five out of the forty days were specially called the days of the Purusha-medha, whence it got the name of *paṇcháha*. Eleven sacrificial posts were required for it, and to each of them was tied an animal fit for Agni and Soma, (a barren cow,) the human victims being placed between the posts.

The earliest indication of this rite occurs in the Vájasaneyí Sañhitá of the White Yajur Veda. The passage in it bearing on the subject is supposed to describe the different kinds of human victims appropriate for particular gods and goddesses. The section, in which it occurs, opens with three verses which, the commentator says, were intended to serve as mantras for offerings of human victims. Then follows a series of one hundred and seventy-nine names of gods in the dative case, each followed by the name of one or more persons in the objective case; thus "to Brahma a Bráhmaṇa, to Kshatra a Kshatríya," &c. The copula is nowhere given, and it is quite optional with the reader to supply whatever verb he chooses. The whole of these names occurs also in the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda, with only a few slight variations, and in some cases having the verb *álabhate* after them. This verb is formed of the root *labh* "to kill" with the prefix *á*, and commentators have generally accepted the term to mean slaughter, though in some cases it means consecration before slaughter. The century of Bráhmaṇas of the White Yajur Veda also accepts the passage to be descriptive of human victims, and under the circumstance we may unhesitatingly take it in that sense, though the arguments by which the hymns of the Ṛig Veda have been attempted to be divorced from their commentary in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa may be fairly brought to bear upon it. It should be added that the Black Yajush is older than the White Yajush, and the latter must have copied the text from the former with the slight variations noticed.

As the passage in the Taittiríya is a curious one, though long, I shall quote it entire, pointing out within brackets in the foot-notes the differences observable in the Vájasaneyí Sañhitá. It runs thus:

1. "To a (divinity of the) Bráhman (caste), a Bráhmaṇa should be sacrificed *(álabhate)*; 2, to a (divinity of the)

Kshatríya (caste), a Kshatríya; 3, to the Maruts, a Vaisya; 4, to Tapas (the divinity presiding over penances), a S'údra; 5, to Tamas (the presiding divinity of darkness) a thief; 6, to Naraka (the divinity of hells), a Vírahana (one who blows out sacrificial fires); 7, to Pápman (the divinity of sins), a hermaphrodite (or a eunuch); 8, to Ákrayi (the divinity of commerce), an Ayogu (one who acts against the ordinances of the S'ástra); 9, to Káma (the divinity of love), a courtezan; 10, to Atikrushṭa (a detested divinity), a Mágadha (the son of a Vais'ya by a Kshatríya woman);*

11. To Gíta (the divinity of music), a Súta or musician (the son of a Kshatríya by a Bráhmaṇa woman); 12, to Nṛitta (the divinity of dancing), one who lends his wife to another (a cuckold)†; 13, to Dharma (the divinity of duty), one who frequents assemblies and preaches morality; 14, to Narma (the divinity of humour), a wit; 15, to Narishṭá (a dependent goddess), a coward; 16, to Hasa (the divinity of laughter), a person of an ambling gait; 17, to A'nanda (the divinity of delight), a favourite of women; 18, to Pramada (the divinity of joy), the son of an unmarried woman; 19, to Medhá (the goddess of intelligence), a coach-builder; 20, to Dhairya (the divinity of patience), a carpenter (carver);‡

21. To S'rama (the divinity of labour), the son of a potter; 22, to Máyá (the divinity who delights in art), a blacksmith; 23, to Rúpa (the divinity of beauty), a jeweller; 24, to the divinity of prosperity, an agriculturist (sower of seeds, *vapa*);

* ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते। क्षत्राय राजन्यं। मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यं। तपसे शूद्रं। तमसे तस्करं। नारकाय वीरहणं। पाप्मने क्लीवं। आक्रयायाऽयोगूं। कामाय पुंश्चलूं। अतिक्रुष्टाय मागधं॥ १॥

† The Vájasaneyi Sañhitá assigns the Súta to Nṛitta, and the cuckold to Gíta.

‡ गीताय सूतं नृत्ताय शैलूषं। [नृत्ताय सूतं गीताय शैलूषं] धर्म्माय सभाचरं। नर्म्माय रेभं। नरिष्ठायै भीमलं। हसाय कारिम्। आनन्दाय स्त्रीषखं। प्रमदे कुमारीपुत्रं। मेधायै रथकारं। धैर्य्याय तक्षाणं॥ २॥

25, to Saravyí (the divinity of arrows), an arrow-maker; 26, to Hetí (the goddess of arms), a *bow-maker*; 27, to Karma (the divinity of art-work), a *bowstring-maker*; 28, to Dishṭa, a maker of ropes; 29, to Mṛityu, (the *divinity* of death) a hunter; 30, to Antaka, (the divinity of murder,) a person delighting in hunting with dogs;*

31. To Sandha, (the divinity of assignation,) a person given to adultery; 32, to Geha, (the divinity of homesteads,) one who lives in concubinage; 33, to Nirṛiti, (the goddess of misfortune,) one who has married before his elder brother; 34, to Ártí, (the goddess of pain,) one who wishes to marry before his elder brother; 35, to Árádhi, (the divinity who causes obstruction to enterprise,) one who has married a widow; 36, to Pavitra, (the divinity of purity,) a physician; 37, to Prajnána, (the divinity of time) an astronomer; 38, to Niskṛiti, (the goddess of success,) the wife of a goldsmith; 39, to Bala, (the divinity of strength,) a girl who is forcibly taken and kept as a concubine for food and raiment, but no pay; 40, to Varṇa, (the divinity of colours,) one who works for the sake of another, not for himself;†

41. To the gods of rivers, a fisherman, (Paunjishṭa); 42, to the regents of lonely places, a Naisháda; 43, to the god who claims to be the noblest of males, an excessively vain man; 44, to the gods of heroes, an insane man; 45, to the Gandharvas and their wives, one who has not been duly purified by the initiatory rites (a Vrátya); 46, to the regents of snakes, and snake-charmers, one unfit for the initiatory

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* श्रमाय कौलालं। [तपसे कौलालं]। मायायै कार्म्मारं। रूपाय मणिकारं। शुभे वपं। शरव्याया इषुकारं। हेत्यै धन्वकारं [धनुष्कारं]। कर्म्मणे ज्याकारं। दिष्टाय रज्जुसर्गं। मृत्यवे मृगयुं। अन्तकाय श्वनितं ॥१॥

† सन्धये जारं। गेहायोपपतिं। निर्ऋत्यै परिवित्तं। [निर्ऋत्यै परिविविदानं] आर्त्त्यै परिविविदानं। [आर्त्त्यै परिवित्तं] आराध्यै दिधिषूपतिं। पवित्राय भिषजं। प्रज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्शं। निष्कृत्यै पेशस्कारीं। बलायोपदां। वर्णायानुरुधं ॥४॥

rites; 47, to the guardian gods, a gambler; 48, to *Iryatá*, (the goddess of food,) one who abstains from gambling; 49, to the Pis'áchas, a basket-maker; 50, to the *Yátudhánas*, (a race of demons,) a gardener, or one who puts up a thorny hedge;*

51. To those gods who frustrate undertakings, a hunchback; 52, to Pramada, (the divinity of excessive joy,) a dwarf; 53, to those goddesses who are the guardians of gates, a diseased person; 54, to the presiding divinity of dreams, a blind man; 55, to the divinity of sin, a deaf man; 56, to the divinity of sense, one who wins her husband's affection through charms or filters; 57, to the divinity of profuse talk, a bore; 58, to the goddess who is little conversant with the Vedas, a sceptic; 59, to her who is conversant with them, one who is proficient in questioning; 60, to her who presides over the purport of the S'astras, one who is able to meet arguments;†

61. To the divinity of thieves, one proficient in thieving; 62, to one who prides in killing heroes, a tattler; 63, to one who presides on gains, a charioteer; 64, to the divinity who protects royal treasuries, a treasurer or revenue-collector; 65, to the mighty, a servant; 66, to the majestic, an officer, or an assistant; 67, to the dear one, a sweet speaker; 68, to the uninjurious, a cavalier; 69, to the intelligent, or him who is proficient in a knowledge of religious rites, a washer-woman; 70, to the most loving, a female dyer;‡

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* नदीभ्यः पौञ्जिष्टं। ऋक्षीकाभ्यो नैषादं। पुरुषव्याघ्राय दुर्म्मदं। प्रयुड्भ्यः उन्मत्तं। गन्धर्व्वाप्सरोभ्यो व्रात्यं। सर्पदेवजनेभ्यः अप्रतिपदं। अवेभ्यः [अयेभ्यः] कितवं। इर्य्यताया अकितवं। पिशाचेभ्यो विदलकारं [विदलकारीं]। यातुधानेभ्यः कण्टककारं [कण्टकीकारिं]॥ ५॥

† उत्सादेभ्यः कुब्जं। प्रमुदे वामनं। द्वार्भ्यः स्रामं। स्वप्नायान्धं। अधर्म्माय बधिरं। सञ्ज्ञानाय स्मरकारीं। प्रकामोद्यायोपसदं। आशिक्षायै प्रश्निनं। उपशिक्षाया अभिप्रश्निनं। मर्य्यादायै प्रश्नविवादं॥ ६॥

‡ ऋत्यै स्तेनहृदयं। वैरहत्याय पिशुनं। विविक्त्यै क्षत्तारं। औपद्रष्टाय सङ्ग्रहीतारं। [अनुक्षत्तारं]। बलायानुचरं। भूम्ने परिष्कन्दं। प्रियाय

71. To the refulgent, a collector of fuel; 72, to the highly refulgent, a fire-man, or lighter of fires; 73, to him who dwells on the top of heaven, one who officiates at a coronation; 74, to the regent of the region of the sun, a polisher of metal pots; 75, to him who prides himself on being of the region of the Devas, one who causes enmity; 76, to him who resides in the region of the mortals, one who foments quarrels among those who are in peace; 77, to those who belong to all regions, a peacemaker; 78, to him who presides over death by penance, one who meddles in quarrels; 79, to him who prides himself on being of heaven *(svarga)*, one who collects the dues of a king from his subjects; 80, to the most aged of heaven, a table-servant;*

81 To the wavy-mover, an elephant-keeper, or máhut; 82, to the swift, a groom; 83, to the robust, a cowherd; 84, to the vigorous, a goatherd; 85, to the energetic, a shepherd; 86, to the divinity of food, a ploughman; 87, to that of water, a distiller, or vintner; 88, to that of welfare, a householder; 89, to that of prosperity, an owner of wealth; 90, to him who is the immediate cause of all things, the servant of a charioteer, or an assistant charioteer; †

91. To the mentally wrathful, a blacksmith, or one who works at a forge; 92, to the manifestly angry, one who leads a convict to execution; 93, to him who presides over griefs, a groom who runs before a chariot; 94, to the two who

प्रियवादिनं। अरिष्ट्यै अश्वसादं। मेधाय वासः पल्पूलीं। प्रकामाय रजयित्रीं ॥ ७ ॥

*भायै दार्व्याहारं। प्रभाया आग्नेन्धं। नाकस्य पृष्ठायाभिषेक्तारं। ब्रध्नस्य विष्टपाय पात्रनिर्णेगं। देवलोकाय पेशितारं। मनुष्यलोकाय प्रकरितारं। सर्वेभ्यो लोकेभ्य उपसेक्तारं। अवर्त्त्यै वधायोपमन्थितारं। सुवर्गाय लोकाय भागदुघं। वर्षिष्ठाय नाकाय परिवेष्टारं ॥ ८ ॥

†अर्मेभ्यो हस्तिपं। जवायाश्वपं। पुष्ट्यै गोपालं। तेजसेऽजपालं। वीर्य्यायाविपालं। इरायै कीनाशं। कीलालाय सुराकारं। भद्राय गृहपं। श्रेयसे वित्तपं। अध्यक्षायानुक्षत्तारं ॥ ९ ॥

preside over gains above or below one's expectation *(Utkula* and *Vikula)*, a cripple who cannot move even with the help of a crutch ; 95, to him who presides over expected profits, one who harnesses a horse to a chariot ; 96, to him who protects gains, one who unharnesses a horse ; 97, to the portly-bodied, the son of one who is addicted to her toilet ; 98, to him who presides over politeness, one who puts collyrium on his eyes ; 99, to the divinity of sin, a maker of leather sheaths for swords ; 100, to Yama, (the destroyer of life,) a barren woman ;*

101. To Yamí, a mother of twins ; 102, to the goddesses who preside over the mantras of the Atharva Veda, a woman who had aborted ; 103, to the divinity of the first year of Jupiter's cycle, a woman who is confined long after due time ; 104, to that of the second year of ditto, one who has not conceived for the second time ; 105, to that of the third year of ditto, one who is able to bring on delivery before due time ; 106, to that of the fourth year of ditto, one who can delay delivery ; 107, to that of the fifth year of ditto, one who becomes lean without delivery ; 108, to one who produces a misleading impression of the world, a women who appears old in her youth ; 109, to the divinity of forests, a forest-ranger or keeper ; 110, to the divinity of a side forest, one who protects forests from fires ;†

111. To the divinities of lakes, a fisherman who catches fish both in water and also from the bank ; 112, to those of ponds, one who catches fish with hooks ; 113, to those of

*भन्यवेऽयस्तापं। क्रोधाय निसरं। शोकायाभिसरं। उत्कूलविकूलाभ्यां [उत्कूलविकूलेभ्यः] त्रिस्थिनं। योगाय योक्तारं। क्षेमाय विमोक्तारं। वपुषे मानस्कृतं। शीलायाञ्जनीकारं। निर्ऋत्यै कोशकारीं। यमायासूम् ॥१०।

†यम्यै यमसूं। अथर्वभ्योऽवतोकां। संवत्सराय पर्य्यारिणीं। परिवत्सरायाविजातां। इदावत्सरायापस्कद्वरीं। इद्वत्सराया तीत्वरीं। [इदावत्सरायातीत्वरीं। इद्वत्सरायातिस्कद्वरीं]। वत्सराय विजर्जरां। संवत्सराय पलिक्नीं। वनाय वनपं। अन्यतोऽरण्याय दावपं॥ ११ ॥

bays, (or streamless waters near woods,) one who earns his livelihood with a net; 114, to those female divinities who preside over waters amidst prairies, one who earns his livelihood with fishing-hooks; 115, to the divinity of the further bank, a Kaivarta, (or one who hunts fish from the banks); 116, to that of the near bank, a Márgára, (or one who catches fish with his hands only); 117, to the divinities of fords, one who catches fish by putting up stakes in water; 118, to those who preside over other than fords, one who earns his livelihood by catching fish with nets; 119, to those who preside over sounding waters, one who catches fish by poisoning them with poisoned leaves placed in the water; 120, to those of caverns in mountains, a Kiráta (or hunter); 121, to those of peaks of mountains, a Yambhaka; 122, to those of mountains, a Kimpurusha;*

123. To the divinity of echoes, a news-dealer; 124, to that of sounds, an incoherent speaker; 125, to that of fading sounds, one who speaks much; 126, to that of unending sound, a dumb person; 127 to that of loud sound, a player on the Víná; 128, to that of musical sounds, a player on the flute; 129, to that of all kinds of sounds, a trumpeter; 130, to that of sounds other than sweet, a blower of conch-shells; 131, to those who preside over the seasons, one whose profession is to collect fragments of skins; 132, to those of statesmanship, (or of time, place and opportunities, for peace negotiations,) a preparer of musical instruments with leather;†

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* सरोभ्यो धैवरं। वेशन्ताभ्यो दाशं। उपस्थावरीभ्यो वैन्दं। [वैशन्ताभ्यो वैन्दं। उपस्थावरीभ्यो दाशं।] नड्वलाभ्यः शौष्कलं। पार्य्याय कैवर्त्तं। अवार्य्याय मार्गारं। [पाराय मार्गारं। आवाराय कैवर्त्तं]। तीर्थेभ्य आन्दं। विषमेभ्यो मैनालं। स्वनेभ्यः पर्णकं। गुहाभ्यः किरातं। सानुभ्यो जम्भकं। पर्व्वतेभ्यः किम्पूरुषं॥ १२॥

† प्रतिश्रुत्काया ऋतुलं। घोषाय भषं। अन्ताय बहुवादिनं। अनन्ताय मूकं। महसे वीणावादं। क्रोशाय तूणवध्मं। आक्रन्दाय दुन्दुभ्याघातं। अवरस्पराय शङ्खध्मं। ऋभुभ्योऽजिनसन्धायं। साध्येभ्यश्चर्म्मम्णम्॥ १२

133. To the goddess presiding over abhorrence, a (man of the) Paulkasa (caste); 134, to the goddess of affluence, one who is always careful or wakeful; 135, to that of indigence, a careless or sleepy person; 136, to that of scales (or weighing instruments,) a purchaser; 137, to the god presiding over the radiance of jewels, a goldsmith; 138, to the Vis′ve-devás, a leper; 139, to the divinity of diseases other than leprosy, a naturally lean person; 140, to the goddess of motion, a scandal-monger; 141, to that of prosperity, one who is not impudent; 142, to the god of decay, one who splits wood. (?)*

143. To the divinity of mirth, a loose woman should be sacrificed; 144, to that of song, a player on the Víná and a songster; 145, to that of aquatic animals, a Sábulyá (one whose body is brindled, or has two colours, a piebald woman); 146, to that of congratulatory words, a woman of perfect form; 147, to that of dancing, one who plays on flutes, one who leads the octave in a chorus, and one who beats time with his hands; 148, to that of manifest delight, one who invites people to a dance, or one who makes a sound to indicate the cessation of a dance; 149, to that of internal delight, one who plays on the *talava* (a musical instrument, probably the archetype of the modern *tablá)*, or one who produces music from his mouth; †

150. To the divinity of gambling with the dice, a proficient gambler; 151, to that of the Kríta age, a keeper of a gambling hall; 152, to that of the Tretá age, a marker or

* बीभत्सायै पौल्कसम्। भूत्यै जागरणम्। अभूत्यै स्वपनम्। तुलायै वाणिजम्। वर्णाय हिरण्यकारम्। विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः सिध्मलम्। पश्चाद्दोषाय ग्लीवम् [ग्लाविनं]। ऋत्यै जनवादिनम्। व्यृद्ध्या अपगल्भम्। सꣳशराय प्रच्छिदम् ॥ १४ ॥

† हसाय पुꣳश्चलूमालभते। वीणावादं गणकं गीताय। यादसे शाबल्यां। नर्माय भद्रवतीम्। तूणवध्मं ग्रामण्यं पाणिसङ्घातं नृत्ताय। मोदायानुक्रोशकम्। आनन्दाय तलवं॥ १५ ॥

reckoner at a gambling table; 153, to that of the Dvápærá age, one who is a spectator at a gambling table; 154, to that of the Kali age, one who does not leave a gambling hall even after the play has stopped; 155, to that of difficult enterprises, a teacher of gymnastics on the top of a bamboo; 156, to that of roads, a Brahmachárí; 157, to the Pis'áchas, one who commits robberies on public highways and then hides himself in a mountain; 158, to the goddess of thirst, one who skins cattle; 159, to that of sin, a cattle-poisoner; 160, to that of hunger, a cow-butcher; 161, to the goddesses of hunger and thirst, one who lives by begging beef from a butcher;*

162. To the divinity of land, a cripple who moves about on a crutch; 163, to that of fire, a Chaṇḍála; 164, to that of the sky, one whose profession is to dance on the top of a bamboo; 165, to that of the celestial region, a bald person; 166, to the presiding divinity of the sun, a green-eyed person; 167, to the presiding divinity of the moon, one who twinkles his eyes too frequently; 168, to the presiding divinity of the stars, one affected with white leprous blotches; 169, to that of day, an albino with tawny eyes; 170, to that of night, a black person with tawny eyes;†

171. To the goddess of speech, a fat person; 172, to Váyu, the five vital airs: prána, apána, vyána, udána and

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* अक्षराजाय कितवम्। कृताय सभाविनम्। [कृतायादिनवदर्शं]। त्रेताया आदिनवदर्शं [कल्पिनं]। द्वापराय बहिःसदं। [अधिकल्पिनं] कलये सभास्थाणुम्। दुष्कृताय चरकाचार्य्यं। अध्वने ब्रह्मचारिणं। पिशाचेभ्यः शैलगं। पिपासायै गोव्यच्छं। निर्ऋत्यै गोघातं। क्षुधे गोविकर्त्तारम्। [योगां]। क्षुत्तृष्णाभ्यां तम्। यो गां विकृतं तं मांसं भिक्षमाणा उपतिष्ठते॥ १६।

† भूम्यै पीठसर्पिणमालभते। अग्नये अंसलम्। वायवे चाण्डालम्। अन्तरिक्षाय वंशनर्त्तिनम्। दिवे खलतिम्। सूर्य्याय हर्य्यक्षम्। चन्द्रमसे मिर्म्मिरं। नक्षत्रेभ्यः किलासम्। अह्ने शुक्लं पिङ्गलम्। रात्रियै कृष्णं पिङ्गाक्षम्॥ १७॥

samána, of that person; 173, to Súrya should be immolated his eyes; 174, to Chandramá his mind; 175, to the regents of the quarters, his ears; 176, his life, to Prajápati.* .

177. Now to ugly divinities should be immolated very short, very tall, very lean, very fat, very white, very dark, very smooth, very hairy, few-toothed, numerously-toothed, frequently-twinkling-eyed, and very glaring-eyed, persons; 178, to the goddess for unattainable objects of hope, a woman who has passed the age for conception; 179, (and) to the goddess of hope for attainable objects, a virgin."†

In explanation of the purport of this long passage in the Taittiríya Bráhmana Ápastamba says: "The Purusha-medha is penta-diurnal; a Bráhmana or a Rájanya (Kshatríya) should celebrated it. He thereby acquires strength and vigour; he enjoys all fruition. (The number of) days should be as in the Panchas'áradíya rite, and as a sequel to the Agnishtoma rite, eleven animals, meet for the Agnisomiya, should be tethered to eleven sacrifical posts, and, three oblations to Sávitri having been offered with the mantra *Deva savitastat savitur vis'váni deva savita, &c.*, on the middle day they should be sacrificed (or consecrated *upákrita).* Having sacrificed twice eleven men, reciting the mantra *Brahmané Bráhmanán álabheta*, (the priest) places the sacrificed (or consecrated, *upákrita)* victims between the sacrificial posts. The Brahmá (priest), then placing himself on the south side, recites the hymn to the great male Náráyana beginning with the verse *sahasra s'írs'áh purusha, &c.*,

* वाचे पुरुषमालभते। प्राणमपानं व्यानमुदानं समानं तान् वायवे। सूर्य्याय चक्षुरालभते। मनश्चन्द्रमसे। दिग्भ्यः श्रोत्रं। प्रजापतये पुरुषम्॥ १८॥

† अथैतानरूपेभ्यः आलभते। अतिह्रस्वमतिदीर्घं। अतिकृशमत्यंसलम्। अतिशुक्लमतिकृष्णम्। अतिश्लक्ष्णमतिलोमशम्। अतिकिरिटमतिदन्तुरम्। अतिमिर्म्मिरमतिमेमिषम्। आशायै जामिम्। प्रतीक्षायै कुमारीम्॥ १९॥

and, then turning a burning brand round the victims, consigns them to the north; (the other priests), then offering an oblation with clarified butter to the presiding divinity, place them (there)."*

Sáyaṇa Áchárya, after quoting this opinion of Ápastamba, and explaining the different terms used in the Bráhmaṇa to indicate the different gods and goddesses and the persons deemed meet for them, adds, "the human-formed animals beginning with Brhámaṇa and ending with Virgin, should be immolated *(álabdhavyáh)* along with the sacrificial animals on the middle day of the five days of this Purushamedha, which is a kind of Somayága."†

Neither Ápastambha nor Sáyaṇa has a word to say about the human victims being symbolical. The word used by Ápastamba is *Upákrita*, which may mean consecration before a sacrifice or slaughter; and according to Jaimini, the highest authority on sacrifices, and his commentator Savara Svámí, the sacrificial operations "of consecration, of bringing the animal to the place of sacrifice, fettering it, tying it to the post, slaughtering, and cutting the carcass open for the distribution of the flesh among the priests, are all implied when sacrifice is meant," and the latter adds that "all the

* तत्रापस्तम्ब आह। पञ्चाहः पुरुषमेधो ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो वा यजेत। ओजो वीर्य्यमाप्नोति, सर्व्वा व्युष्टीर्व्यश्नुतः। एकादशस्तु यूपेष्वेकादशाग्नीषोमीयाः। पञ्चशारदीयवदहान्यग्निष्टोमो वोपोत्तमो देव सवितस्तत् सवितुर्विश्वानि देवसवितरिति तिस्रः सावित्रीर्हुत्वा मध्यमेऽहनि पशूनुपाकरोति। इयानैकादशिनानुपाकृत्य पुरुषान् ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभेत इत्येतद् यथासमाम्नातं तान्यूपान्तराले धारयन्त्युपाकृतान्। दक्षिणतोऽवस्थाय ब्रह्मा सहस्रशीर्षाः पुरुष इति पुरुषेण नारायणेन पराचानुशंसति। पर्य्यग्निकृतानुदीचीनान् प्रोत्सृजत्याज्येन तद्देवता आहुतीर्हुत्वा इयैरेकादशिनान् संस्थापयन्तीति।

† ब्राह्मणादयः कुमार्य्यन्ताः प्रोक्ता मनुष्यविशेषरूपाः पशवोऽस्मिन् पुरुषमेधे पञ्चाहे सोमयागविशेषे मध्यमेऽहनि सवनीयपशुभिः समचित्यालब्धव्याः।

different acts should be understood when sacrifices are ordained, except when special instructions are given."* Now no special exception has been made in the text about the human victims, and consequently the only conclusion to be arrived at is—that, the Taittiríyakas did not look upon the rite as symbolical, though in the case of sacrifices under Nos, 172 to 176, the actual slaughtering of the airs, &c., would be rather awkward. It must be added, however, that Ápastamba is very brief and obscure in his remarks, and it would be hazardous to draw a positive conclusion from the insufficient data supplied by him, particularly as the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa is positive on the subject of the human victims being let off after consecration; though the fact of that Bráhmaṇa being much later than the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, may justify the assumption that the practice of the Kánva school can be no guide to the followers of the Taittiríyaka.

The S'atapatha refers to the Purushamedha in several places; and the following is the full description of the rite, given in it:

1. "Verily the great male, Náráyaṇa, willed: 'I shall abide over all living beings; verily I shall become all this (creation).' He perceived this penta-diurnal sacrificial rite Purushamedha. He collected it. With it he performed a sacrifice. Performing a sacrifice with it, he abided over all living beings, and became all this (creation). He abides over all living beings, and becomes all this, who performs a Purushamedha, as also he who knows all this.†

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* उपाकरणम् उपानयनम् अक्ष्णयाबन्धो, यूपे नियोजनम् सञ्ज्ञपनम् विशसनम् इत्येवमादयः। + + + + सवनीयस्य एते धर्माः भवेयुः। तुल्यः सर्व्वेषां पशुविधिः स्यात्। यदि प्रकरणे विशेषो न भवेत्। Mímáñsá Dars'ana, p. 373.

† पुरुषो ह नारायणोऽकामयत। अतितिष्ठेयं सर्व्वाणि भूतान्यहमेवेदं सर्व्वं स्यामिति। स एतं पुरुषमेधं पञ्चरात्रं यज्ञक्रतुमपश्यत्तमाहरत्तेनायजत तेनेष्ट्वात्यतिष्ठत् सर्व्वाणि भूतानीदं सर्व्वमभवदतितिष्ठति सर्व्वाणि भूतानीदं सर्व्वं भवति य एवं विद्वान् पुरुषमेधेन यजते यो वैतदेवं वेद ॥ १ ॥

2. "Of that rite there are twenty-three initiations *(diksh́á)*, twelve benefactions *(upasada)*, and five lustrations *(sutyá)*, making altogether forty members *(gátra)*. The forty comprising the initiations, benefactions, &c., constitute the forty-syllabled *virát*, (a form of metre) which assumes the form of Virát (the first male produced by Prajápati, and the father of mankind). Thus it is said; 'Virát, the first or superior male, was produced.'* This is the same Virát. From this Virát is produced the male for sacrifice.†

3. "Thereof these. There are four Das'ats, and since there are four Das'ats, they are the means for the attainment of the (different) regions and quarters (of the universe). This region (the earth) is the first to be attained by a Das'at; the upper region the second; the sky the third; the quarters the fourth. Thus verily the institutor of the sacrifice attains this region through the first Das'at, the region of ether through the second, the celestial region through the third, and the quarters through the fourth. Thus the Purushamedha is the means of attaining and subjugating all this—all these regions, and all the quarters.‡

4. "For the initiation of this ceremony eleven animals meet for Agni and Soma, (should be procured). For them there should be eleven sacrificial posts *(Yúpa)*. Eleven

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* A quotation from the Purushas'ukta as given in the Vájasaneyi Sañhitá.

† तस्य त्रयोविंशतिर्दीक्षाः द्वादशोपसदः पञ्च सुत्याः स एष चत्वारिंशद्गात्रः सदीक्षोपसत्कश्चत्वारिंशदक्षरा विराट् तद्विराजमभिसम्पद्यते ततो विराडजायत विराजोऽ अधि पुरुष इत्येषा वै सा विराडेतस्या एवैतद्विराजो यज्ञं पुरुषं जनयति ॥ २ ॥

‡ ता वाऽ एताः। चतस्रो दशतो भवन्ति तद्यदेताश्चतस्रो दशतो भवन्त्येषां चैव लोकानामाप्त्यै दिशां चेममेव लोकं प्रथमया दशतामुवन्तरिक्षं द्वितीयया दिवं तृतीयया दिशश्चतुर्थ्यां तथैवैतद् यजमान इममेव लोकं प्रथमया दशताप्नोत्यन्तरिक्षं द्वितीयया दिवं तृतीयया दिशश्चतुर्थ्यैतावद्वाऽ इदं सर्व्वं यावदिमे च लोका दिशश्च सर्व्वं पुरुषमेधः सर्व्वस्याप्त्यै सर्व्वस्यावरुद्ध्यै ॥ ३ ॥

syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup metre; the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup the institutor of the sacrifice destroys all the sin before him.*

5. "In the rite of lustration there should be eleven victims. Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup metre; the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup the institutor of the sacrifice (Yajamána) destroys the sin before him.†

6. "Because the victims (in this sacrifice) are elevenfold, therefore verily is all this (creation) elevenfold. Prajápati is elevenfold; all this is verily Prajápati; all this is the Purushamedha, which is the means for the attainment and subjugation of all this.‡

7. "That Purushamedha is verily penta-diurnal, and the greatest rite of sacrifice. Fivefold is Yajṇa; fivefold are victims, or sacrificial animals; five are the seasons included in the year. Whatever is fivefold in celestial or spiritual matter, the same may be obtained through this (rite).§

8. "Thereof the Agnishṭoma is the first day; next the Ukthya; the next Atirátra; the next Ukthya; the next

* एकादशाग्निषोमीयाः पशव उपवसथे। तेषां समानं कर्म्मैकादश यूपा एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब्वजस्त्रिष्टुब्वीर्य्यं त्रिष्टुब्वज्रेणैवैतत् वीर्य्येण यजमानः पुरस्तात् पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ४ ॥

† ऐकादशिनाः सुत्यासु पशवो भवन्ति। एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्य्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रेणैवैतद्वीर्य्येण यजमानः पुरस्तात् पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ५ ॥

‡ यद्वेवैकादशिना भवन्ति। एकादशिनो वाऽ इदं सर्व्वं प्रजापतिर्ह्येकादशिनी सर्व्वं हि प्रजापतिः सर्व्वं पुरुषमेधः सर्व्वस्याप्त्यै सर्व्वस्यावरुद्ध्यै ॥६॥

§ स वाऽएष पुरुषमेधः पञ्चरात्रो यज्ञक्रतुर्भवति। पाङ्क्तो यज्ञः पाङ्क्तः पशुः पञ्चर्तवः संवत्सरो यत्किञ्च पञ्चविधमधिदेवतमध्यात्मं तदेतेन सर्व्वमाप्नोति ॥ ७ ॥

Agnishṭoma: thus it is hedged on either side by the Ukthya and the Agnishṭoma.*

9. "Yavamadhya are these five nights, (that is like a barley-corn stoutest in the middle and tapering on either side, meaning that the most important day is in the middle; or, as the commentator has it, the penance of gradually reducing the food and then again gradually increasing it, should be observed, so that on the third night there should be the smallest allowance of food). These regions are verily the Purushamedha; these regions have light on either side—Agni on this (side), and the sun on the other (side). In the same way it (the Purushamedha) has, on either side, the food of light and the Ukthya. The soul is Atirátra; and since the Atirátra is hedged in on both sides by the two Ukthyas, therefore is the soul nourished by food. And since the thriving Atirátra, is placed in the middle day, therefore is it Yavamadhya. He who engages in this rite has none to envy him, or to grow inimical to him. He who knows this suffers not from envy or enmity.†

10. "Of that Purushamedha this region is the first day. Of this region the spring season (is the chief.) That which is above this region, the etherial region, *(antariksha)* is the second day; of that the summer is the season. The etherial region is its third day. Of the etherial region the rainy and the autumn are the seasons. That which is above the etherial region, the sky, *(Diva,)* is the fourth day; of it the

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* तस्याग्निष्टोमः प्रथममहर्भवति। अथोक्थ्योऽथातिरात्रोऽथोक्थ्योऽथाग्निष्टोमः स वा एष उभयतोज्योतिरुभयत उक्थ्यः ॥ ८ ॥

† यवमध्यः पञ्चरात्रो भवति। इमे वै लोकाः पुरुषमेध उभयतोज्योतिषो वा इमे लोका अग्निनेत आदित्येनामुतस्तस्मादुभयतोज्योतिरन्नमुक्थ्य आत्मातिरात्रस्तद् यदेता उक्थ्यावतिरात्रमभितो भवतस्तस्मादयमात्मान्नेन परिवृढोऽथ यदेष वर्षिष्ठोऽतिरात्रोऽह्नां स मध्ये तस्माद्यवमध्यो युते ह वै द्विषन्तं भ्रातृव्य मयमेवास्ति वास्य द्विष न भ्रातृव्य इत्याहुर्य एवंवेद ॥ ९ ॥

dewy is the season. The heaven is its fifth day; of that heaven the winter is the season. This much is the celestial account of the Purushamedha.*

11. "Now for its spiritual relations. Initiation *(Protishthá)* is its first day. Initiation is the spring season. That which is above it and below the middle is the second day; of that the summer is the season. The middle is the middle day. Of the middle day the rainy and the autumn are the seasons. That which is above the middle day and below the head or last day is the fourth day; thereof the dewy is the season. That which is the head is the fifth day; the season of this head is the winter. Thus verily these regions, the year, and the soul constituted the Purushamedha. All these regions, the whole year, the whole soul, the whole Purushamedha are for the attainment and subjugation of every thing.†

(Section 2.) 1. Now, whence the name Purushamedha? These regions verily are *Pur*, and He, the Purusha, who sanctifies this *(Pur)* sleeps *(sete)* in this abode *(Puri)* and hence is he named Purusha *(Puri* and *sete*=Purusha). To him belongs whatever food exists in these regions; that food

* तस्यायमेव लोकः प्रथममहः। अयमस्य लोको वसन्त ऋतुर्यदूर्द्धमस्मा-ल्लोकादर्वाचीनमन्तरिक्षात्तद् द्वितीयमहस्तदस्य ग्रीष्म ऋतुरन्तरिक्षमेवास्य मध्यममहरन्तरिक्षमस्य वर्षाशरदावृतू यदूर्द्धमन्तरिक्षादर्वाचीनं दिवस्त-च्चतुर्थमहस्तदस्य हेमन्त ऋतुर्द्यौरेवास्य पञ्चममहर्द्यौरस्य शिशिर ऋतु-रित्याधिदैवतं ॥ १० ॥

† अथाध्यात्मं। प्रतिष्ठैवास्य प्रथममहः प्रतिष्ठोऽस्य वसन्त ऋतु-र्यदूर्द्धं प्रतिष्ठाया अर्वाचीनं मध्यात्तद् द्वितीयमहस्तदस्य ग्रीष्म ऋतुर्मध्य-मेवास्य मध्यममहर्मध्यमस्य वर्षाशरदावृतू यदूर्द्धं मध्यादर्वाचीनं शीर्ष्णस्त-च्चतुर्थमहस्तदस्य हेमन्त ऋतुः शिर एवास्य पञ्चममहः शिरोऽस्य शिशिर ऋतुरेवमिमे च लोकाः संवत्सरश्चात्मा च पुरुषमेधमभिसम्पद्यन्ते सर्व्वं वाऽ इमे लोकाः सर्व्वं संवत्सरः सर्व्वमात्मा सर्व्वं पुरुषमेधः सर्व्वस्याप्त्यै सर्व्वस्या-वरुद्ध्यै ॥ १ ॥

ब्राह्मणं ॥ [६. १.] ॥ ॥

is (called) *medha ;* and since his food is *medha,* therefore is this Purushamedha. Now since in this (rite) purified males are sacrificed *(álabhate,)* therefore verily is this a Purusha-medha.*

2. These (males) verily are sacrificed *(álabhate)* on the middle day. The etherial region is the middle day; the etherial region is verily the abiding place of all living beings. These animals are verily food; the middle day is the belly, and in that belly is that food deposited.†

3. They are sacrificed by ten and ten. Ten syllables are comprised in (each foot of) the Viráṭ, (metre); the Viráṭ is complete food, for the attainment of complete food.‡

4. Eleven tens are sacrificed. Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishṭup (metre); the Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup, the institutor of the sacrifice destroys the sin within him (lit. in the middle).§

5. "Forty-eight (animals) are sacrificed at the middle post. Forty-eight syllables are comprised in the Jagati (metre); the animals belong to the Jagati (metre); by the Jagati are animals bestowed on the Yajamána.‖

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* अथ यस्मात् पुरुषमेधो नाम। इमे वै लोकाः पूरयमेव पुरुषो योऽयं पवते सोऽस्यां पुरि शेते तस्मात् पुरुषस्तस्य यदेषु लोकेष्वन्नं तद स्यान्नं मेधस्तद्यदस्यैतदन्नं मेधस्तस्मात् पुरुषमेधोऽथो यदस्मिन् मेध्यान् पुरुषानालभते तस्मादेव पुरुषमेधः ॥ १ ॥

† तान् वै मध्यमेऽहन्नालभते। अन्तरिक्षं वै मध्यममहरन्तरिक्षमु वै सर्व्वेषां भूतानामायतनमथोऽन्नं वा एते पशव उदरं मध्यममहरुदरे तदन्नं दधाति ॥ २ ॥

‡ तान् वै दश दशालभते। दशाक्षरा विराड्विराडु कृत्स्नमन्नं कृत्स्नस्यैवान्नाद्यस्यावरुद्ध्यै ॥ ३ ॥

§ एकादश दशत आलभते। एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्य्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रेणैवैतद् वीर्य्येण यजमानो मध्यतः पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ४ ॥

‖ अष्टाचत्वारिंशतं मध्यमे यूप आलभते। अष्टाचत्वारिंशदक्षरा जगती जागताः पशवो जगत्यैवास्मै पशूनवरुन्धे ॥ ५ ॥

6. "Eleven eleven at the other (posts). Eleven syllables are comprised in the Trishtup; the Trishtup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. With the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishtup should the institutor of the sacrifice destroy the sin around him.*

7. "Eight best ones are sacrificed. Eight syllables are comprised in the Gáyatrí (metre). The Gáyatrí is Brahma. That Brahma consummates the well-being of all this. There fore is Brahma said to be the best of all this.†

8. "They (the sacrificial animals) belong to Prajápati Brahma is Prajápati; Prajápati belongs to Brahma; therefore do they (the animals) belong to Prajápati.‡

9. "He (Prajápati, *i. e.*, Brahma, here meaning the priest so named) having sanctified the animals, offers, for the gratification of S'avitá, three oblations with the S'ávitrí verses beginning with, *Deva savitus tatsavitur*, &c. He Sávitá), gratified thereby, produces these men, therefore are these men sacrificed.§

10. "A Bráhmana is sacrificed to Brahma.'‖ Brahma as verily Bráhmana; Brahma thrives through Bráhmana To the Kshatríya (divinity) a (person of the) Rájanya (caste), (should be sacrificed). The Kshatríya is verily Rájanya. The Kshatra thrives through a Kshatra. To the

* एकादशैकादशेतरेषु। एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्य्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रे णैवैतद् वीर्य्येण यजमानोऽभितः पाप्मानमपहते ॥ ६ ॥

† अष्टाऽ उत्तमानालभते। अष्टाक्षरा गायत्री ब्रह्मगायत्री तद्ब्रह्मैवैतदस्य सर्व्वस्योत्तमं करोति तस्माद् ब्रह्मास्य सर्व्वस्योत्तममित्याहुः ॥ ७ ॥

‡ ते वै प्राजापत्या भवन्ति। ब्रह्म वै प्रजापतिर्ब्राह्मो हि प्रजापतिस्तस्मात् प्राजापत्या भवन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

§ स वै पशूनुपाकरिष्यन्। एतास्तिस्रः सावित्रीराहुतीर्जुहोति देव सवितस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं विश्वानि देव सवितरिति सवितारं प्रीणाति सोऽस्मै प्रीत एतान् पुरुषान् प्रसौति तेन प्रसूतानालभते ॥ ९ ॥

‖ A quotation from the Sanhitá.

Maruts a Vais'ya (should be sacrificed). The Vis'a is the Maruts. The Vis'as thrive through the Vis'as. To Tapas (the presiding divinity of penances), a S'údra (should be sacrificed). Tapas is verily S'údra. Tapas thrives through Tapases (works of penance). Even as these gods thrive through these animals (victims), so do they, thriving, cause the institutor of the sacrifice to thrive in all his wishes.†

11. "Offers oblation with butter. The butter is verily vigour. Through that vigour, vigour is given to this (institutor of the sacrifice). Offerings are given with butter, which is the gods' most favourite glory; and since butter promotes their favourite glory, they, thriving, cause the institutor of the sacrifice to thrive in all his wishes.†

12. "The persons appointed. The Brahmá, from the south, praises the great male Náráyaṇa, with the sixteen Ṛig verses beginning with *Sahasras'irsha*, &c. (the Purusha-s'ukta), for verily the whole of the Purushamedha is sixteen-membered for the attainment of everything, and for the subjugation of everything; and he is praised with the words 'thus thou art, thus thou art.' In this way he is worshipped for certain. Now, as it is, this is said about it, the animals are consecrated by turning a flaming brand round them, but

ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते। ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मैव तद्ब्रह्मणा समर्धयति क्षत्राय राजन्यं क्षत्रं वै राजन्यः क्षत्रमेव तत् क्षत्रेण समर्धयति मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यं विशो वै मरुतो विशमेव तद्विशा समर्धयति तपसे शूद्रं तपो शूद्रस्तप एव तत्तपसा समर्धयत्येवमेता देवता यथारूपं पशुभिः समर्धयति ता एनं समृद्धाः समर्धयन्ति सर्व्वैः कामैः ॥ १० ॥

† आज्येन जुहोति। तेजो वाऽ आज्यं तेजसैवास्मिंस्तत्तेजो दधात्याज्येन जुहोत्येतद्वै देवानां प्रियं धाम यदाज्यं प्रियेणैवैनां धाम्ना समर्धयति तऽ एनं समृद्धाः समर्धयन्ति सर्व्वैः कामैः ॥ ११ ॥

left unslaughtered," *(asañjñaptáh)** [Kátyáyana explains that the Bráhmaṇas, &c., are let loose, like the *Kapiñjala* bird at the As'vamedha sacrifice.—*Kapiñjaládi-vadutsrijanti Bráhmaṇádin ;* and his commentator adds, "after a flaming brand has been turned round them :" *paryagnikritanutsrijantity-arthah.*]

13. "About this; speech *(vák)* uttered this; 'O male grieve not if you remain here; a male will eat a male.' Thus, those who have the flaming brand turned round them were let loose, oblations of butter are offered to the several divinities; and thereby were the divinities gratified; and thus gratified they confer all blessings on the worshipper."† [Three oblations are offered to each of the divinities, naming each, and followed by the word sváhá].

14. "He offers oblations with butter. Butter is vigour; by that vigour verily vigour abides in this (worshipper, *Yajamána*).‡

15. "(This rite) is established (for the worshipper, Yajamána) by the eleven (animals). Eleven-syllabled is the Trishṭup. The Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. Through the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup, the Yajamána destroys the sin within him.§

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* नियुक्तान् पुरुषान्। ब्रह्मा दक्षिणतः पुरुषेण नारायणेनाभिष्टौति सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपादित्येतेन षोडशर्चेन षोडशकलं वा ऽइदं सर्वं सर्वं पुरुषमेधः सर्वस्याप्त्यै सर्वस्यावरुद्ध्या ऽइत्यमसीत्यमसी-त्युपस्तौत्येवैनमेतन् महयत्येवाथो यथैव तथैनमेतदाह तत् पर्य्यग्निकृताः पशवा बभूवुरसंज्ञप्ताः ॥ १२ ॥

† अथ हैनं वागभ्युवाद। पुरुष मा सन्तिष्ठिपो यदि संस्थापयिष्यसि पुरुष एव पुरुषमत्स्यतीति तान् पर्य्यग्निकृतानेवोदसृजन्तद्देवत्या आहुती-रजुहोत्ताभिस्ता देवता अप्रीणात्ता एनं प्रीता अप्रीणन्त् सर्वैः कामैः ॥१३॥

‡ आज्येन जुहोति। तेजो वा ऽआज्यं तेजसैवास्मिंस्तत्तेजो दधाति ॥ १४ ॥

§ ऐकादशिनैः संस्थापयति। एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्य्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रेणैवैतद्वीर्य्येण यजमानो मध्यतः पाप्मानमपहते ॥ १५ ॥

16. "Abiding in the ceremony of Udayaniyá." (Vide Ás'valáyana Sútra IV, 3. Kátyáyana VII, 1, 16.) "Eleven barren cows, such as are meet for Mitra, Varuṇa the Vis'vedevas, and Vríhaspati should be sacrificed *(álabhate)* for the attainment of these deities, and since those for Vríhaspati are the last, Vrihaspati is the same with Brahma, and therefore the Yajamána ultimately abides in Brahma,"* [Kátyáyana explains that three cows are to be slaughtered to Mitra and Varuṇa, three to the Vis'vedevás, and five to Vrihaspati].

17. "Now, why are there eleven? Eleven-syllabled is the Trishṭup. The Trishṭup is the thunderbolt,—it is vigour. By the thunderbolt and vigour of the Trishṭup, the Yajamána destroys the sin within him. Threefold is the ceremony of Udavasániya; "(Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, 8, 8,)" it is a friend of of the Yajamána.†

18. "Now for the fees (dakshiṇá). (Wealth acquired) from [a conquered] country, excluding land, and wealth taken from Bráhmaṇas, but including men (slaves). (Wealth from) the eastern side (of the kingdom), along with slaves (should be given) to the Hotá (or reciter of Ṛig mantras). (Wealth from) the southern side (with slaves) to the Bráhmaṇa, (the director); (wealth from) the western side (with slaves) to the Adhavaryu (Yajur Vedic priest); (wealth from) the northern side (with slaves), to the Udgátá (or singer of the Sáma hymns). According to their dues to the Hotrikas, (or junior priests)."‡

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* उदयनीयायां संस्थितायां। एकादश वशा अनुबन्ध्या आलभते मैत्रावरुणीर्वैश्वदेवीर्बार्हस्पत्या एतासां देवतानामाप्त्यै तद्यद्बार्हस्पत्या अन्त्या भवन्ति ब्रह्म वै बृहस्पतिस्तद् ब्रह्मण्येवान्ततः प्रतितिष्ठति ॥ १६ ॥

† अथ यदेकादश भवन्ति एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुब् वज्रस्त्रिष्टुब् वीर्यं त्रिष्टुब् वज्रेणैवैतद्वीर्येण यजमानो मध्यतः पाप्मानमपहते त्रैधातव्युदवसानीयासावेव बन्धुः ॥ १७ ॥

‡ अथातो दक्षिणानां। मध्यं प्रति राष्ट्रस्य यदन्यद्भूमेश्च ब्राह्मणस्य च वित्तात् सपुरुषं प्राची दिग्घोतुर्दक्षिणा ब्रह्मणः प्रतीच्यध्वर्योरुदीच्युद्गातुस्तदेव होत्रका अन्वाभक्ताः ॥ १८ ॥

[This verse is very elliptical and obscure, and translating without the aid of a commentary, I am doubtful about its exact construction. The ellipses have been supplied from the Sútras of Kátyáyana.]

19. "Now, if a Bráhmaṇa performs the ceremony he should give (all his property) to the most learned. The Bráhmaṇa includes everything; the knower of everything is included in everything; the Purushamedha includes everything, (and it is) for the attainment and subjugation of everything.*

20. "Now, keeping to himself only his own self, and his (household) fire, and after praising the sun with the Uttara Náráyaṇa hymn, looking at nothing, he should retire to a forest; thereby he separates himself from mankind. If he should like to dwell in a village, he should produce a fire by the rubbing of two sticks, and praising A'ditya with the Uttára Náráyaṇa hymn, return home, and there continue to perform the rites he was used to, and which he is able to perform. He verily should not speak with every body; to him the Purushamedha is everything, and therefore he should not speak to all (kinds of persons); to those only whom he knows, who are learned, and who are dear to him, he may speak; but not to all."†

* अथ यदि ब्राह्मणो यजेत। सर्व्ववेदसं दद्यात् सर्व्वं वै ब्राह्मणः सर्व्वं सर्व्ववेदसं सर्व्वं पुरुषमेधः सर्व्वस्याप्त्यै सर्व्वस्यावरुद्ध्यै ॥ १९ ॥

† अथात्मन्नग्नी समारोह्य। उत्तरनारायणेनादित्यमुपस्थायानपेक्षमाणोऽरण्यमभिप्रेयात् तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरो भवति यद्यु ग्रामे विवत्सेदरण्योरग्नी समारोह्योत्तरनारायणेनैवादित्यमुपस्थाय गृहेषु प्रत्यवस्येदथ तान् यज्ञक्रतूनाहरेत यानभ्याप्नुयात् स वा एष न सर्व्वस्मा ऽ अनुवक्तव्यः सर्व्वं हि पुरुषमेधो नेत्सर्व्वस्मा ऽ इव सर्व्वं प्रब्रवाणीति यो न्वेव ज्ञातस्तस्मै ब्रूयादथ योऽनूचानोऽथ योऽस्य प्रियः स्यान्नेत्त्वेव सर्व्वस्मा ऽ इव ॥ २० ॥
ब्राह्मणम्। २ ॥ [६. २.] ॥
षष्ठोऽध्यायः [८९.] ॥

No one, I fancy, will deny that the sacrifice described above clearly shows that it is a modification of a prior rite in which the human victims wholly or in part were immolated. No other theory can satisfactorily account for its peculiar character, and the way in which it justifies itself. Probably the number originally sacrificed was few, and that when the rite became emblematic, the number was increased in confirmation of some liturgical theory, particularly as it did not involve any trouble or difficulty. But whether so or not, certain it is that at one time or other men were immolated for the gratification of some divinity or other in this rite or its prototype. The question then arises, was it the case before the date of the Ṛik Sañhitá, or after it?

The interval between the date of the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa and the Sañhitá of the Ṛig Veda is estimated by the learned Professor Max Müller at about six and seven hundred years, and the question being, when was the sacrifice real which became emblematic in the time of the S'atapatha? It would require more confidence in one's power of conjecture than I can pretend to, to say that it must have been before the time of the Sañhitá, and not after it. National rites customs, and ceremonies are, doubtless, very tenacious of life, but in primitive times, in the infancy and early youth of society, the characteristics of social life changed much more rapidly than in later times; certain it is, that the social condition of the Indo-Aryans and their rites and ceremonies underwent radical and most extensive changes during the interval between the Ŕik Sañhitá and the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa, and there is literally not an iota of evidence to show that the rite of Purushamedha was left unaltered for the whole period. Seeing that the Bráhmaṇa depends solely on the Sañhitá for scriptural authority, and adapts the, to us, indistinct and vague generalities of the original, for the developement of a new cultus, modifying and changing details to

suit its own views, the presumption becomes strong that the real sacrifice belonged to the Sañhitá, and the Bráhmaṇa divested it of its hideousness and cruelty, and made it emblematic, even as the Vaishṇavas have, within the last five or six hundred years, replaced the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes to Chaṇḍiká by that of pumpkins and sugar-cane. Babu Rangulála Banerji, Deputy Magistrate of Howrah, informs me that in the subdivision of Kalná, in the Burdwan district, there are several families whose remote ancestors were S'áktas but whose later ancestors became Vaishnavas, among which the practice of offering effigies of buffaloes instead of living animals, on the occasion of the Durgá Pújáh still obtains.

Nor is the Purushamedha the only sacrifice at which human sacrifices were ordained. The As'vamedha, or horse sacrifice, required the immolation of a human being just as much as the former, and hence it is that the horse sacrifice, was prohibited in the Kali Yuga along with it. The Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the black Yajur Veda gives the following story on the subject: "Prajápati, having created all living beings, through affection entered within them. But afterwards he could not get out of them. He said, 'Whoever will extricate me from this confinement will become wealthy.' The Devas performed an As'vamedha and thereby extricated him; thus they became wealthy. Whoever performs an As'vamedha attains profusion of wealth by extricating Prajápati."*

The object of this story is to point out the necessity of slaughtering one hundred and eighty animals of different kinds at this sacrifice to liberate Prajápati from his confinement, and the first victim ordained is a man. "He (the insti-

* प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा प्रेणानुप्राविशत्। ताभ्यः पुनः सम्भवितुं नाशक्नोत्। सोऽब्रवीत्। ऋध्नवदित्सः। यो मेतः पुनः सम्भरदिति। तन्देवा अश्वमेधेनैव समभरन्। ततो वै त आर्ध्नुवन्। योऽश्वमेधेन यजते। प्रजापतिमेव सम्भरन् ऋध्नोति।

tutor of the sacrifice) immolates a man ; (the form of) a man is (like that of) Viráṭ, the type of the animated creation. By the immolation of the man is Viráṭ immolated. Now Viráṭ is food, and therefore through Viráṭ food is obtained."* The horse, the cow, the goat and other animals are ordained to be immolated in almost the same words ; everywhere using the verb *álabhate.* The details of the As'vamedha would require more space than what I can spare here, so I must reserve them for a separate paper.

Apart from the Purushamedha and the As'vamedha, the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa, in adverting to the offering of animal sacrifice generally, and enumerating separately the horse, the cow, the goat, &c., has a verse which is remarkable for the manner in which the human victim is therein referred to. It says "Let a fire-offering be made with the head of a man. The offering is the rite itself *(yajna);* therefore does it make a man a part of the sacrificial animals ; and hence it is that among animals man is included as a sacrifice. Whoever offers an oblation with the head, to him the head gives vigour."† The commentator explains that by the term *purusha s'i'rs'a* "man's head," a man is understood, a part being, by a figure of speech, taken as equivalent to the whole.

Passing from the Bráhmaṇas to the Itihásas, we have ample evidence to show that the rite of Purushamedha was not unknown to their authors. The Institutes of Manu affords the same evidence, but it would seem that when it came into currency, the rite was looked upon with horror, and so it was prohibited as unfit to be performed in the present age.

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* पुरुषमालभते। वैराजो वै पुरुषः। विराजमेवालभते। अथो अन्नं विराट् अन्नमेवावरुन्धे।

† अथ पुरुषशीर्षमभिजुहोति। आहुतिर्वै यज्ञः पुरुषं तत्पशूनां यज्ञियं करोति तस्मात् पुरुष एव पशूनां यजते। यद्वेवैनदभिजुहोति। शीर्षं हस्तीर्य्यं दधाति।

The Puráṇas followed the Sañhita, and the prohibition included along with it the As'vamedha, suicide by drowning in the sea, procreation of children on an elder brother's widow, and a variety of other reprehensible and odious rites, ceremonies and customs,* showing clearly that the rite originally was not so innocent as the supposition of its being emblematic would make it; for had the offering been limited to the mere repetition of a few mantras over a certain number of men, it would not have been so obnoxious to Hindu feeling as to necessitate its suppression.

But while the Puráṇas suppressed the Purushamedha, they afford abundant indications of another rite requiring the immolation of a human victim having come into vogue. This was *Narabali*, or human sacrifice to the goddess Chámuṇḍá, or Chaṇḍiká,—a dark, fierce, sanguinary divinity, who is represented in the most awful forms, not unoften dressed in human palms, garlanded with a string of human skulls, holding a skull by the hair in one hand, and an uplifted sabre in the other, and having her person stained with patches of human gore. European orientalists assign a very modern date to the Puráṇas, and also to the Tantras which describe the cultus of this divinity; but poems and dramatic works dating from eight to fifteen hundred years ago refer to her and her predilection for human flesh, and lithic representations of her form of early mediæval ages are still extant. It has also been proved by unquestionable evidence that most of the leading Tantras of the Hindus were translated into Tibetan from the seventh to the ninth century of the Christian era, and thereby the worship of that goddess naturalised on the other side of the Himálaya.† It must follow that the Hindu Tantras existed for some time before the 7th century, and then the

* Beef in Ancient India, ante I., 384.

† Csoma de Körösi, in the Asiatic Researches, (XX, pp. 569 ff.) gives a long list of Buddhist Tantras.

rite of *Narabali* was known and practised by the people of this country. How long before that period the rite was known, I shall not attempt to determine, for data for such a determination are not available ; but the theory of interpolation apart, the goddess is mentioned in the Rámáyaṇa as reigning in the nether regions ; and her type, as I have already stated, is to be found in Artemis, and even among Assyrian records, and she cannot, therefore, reasonably to taken to be so modern as is generally supposed.

The Káliká Puráṇa is in ecstacy on the merits of the disgusting rite. It says, "By a human sacrifice attended by the forms laid down, Deví remains gratified for a thousand years, and by a sacrifice of three men one hundred thousand years. By human flesh the goddess Kámákhyá's consort Bhairava, who assumes my shape, remains pleased for three thousand years. Blood consecrated, immediately becomes ambrosia, and since the head and flesh are gratifying, therefore should the head and flesh be offered at the worship of the goddess. The wise should also add the flesh free from hair, among food offerings."* The Puráṇa then enters into minute details about the ways in which, the times when, and the places where, the rite should be celebrated ; but as the whole of the chapter in which the details occur, has been already published,† I shall confine myself here to a short extract from another chapter to give an idea of the ceremony connected with the Durgá Pújá

* नरेण बलिना देवि सहस्रं परिवत्सरान् ।
विधिदत्तेन चाप्नोति तृप्तिं लक्षं त्रिभिर्नरैः ॥
नारेणैवाथ मांसेन त्रिसहस्राणि च वत्सरान् ।
तृप्तिं प्राप्नोति कामाख्याभैरवो मम रूपधृक् ॥
मन्त्रपूतं शोणितन्तु पीयूषं जायते सदा ।
मस्तकञ्चापि तस्यापि मांसमिष्टमिदं यतः ॥
तस्मात् तत्पूजने दद्याद् बलेः शीर्षञ्च शोणितं ।
भोज्ये निर्लोममांसानि नियुञ्जीयाद् विचक्षणः ॥
इति कालिकापुराणे बलिनिर्णयाख्ये सप्तषष्टितमोऽध्यायः ॥

† Blacquire, Asiatic Researches, vol. V., pp. 371, ff.

After describing the ritual of the Durgá Pújá, that Puráṇa continues—"Next should be performed such sacrifice as is gratifying to the Deví. The elephant-headed (Gaṇes'a) should be gratified with sweetmeats; Hari with clarified butter, (*Habis*, the word may be rendered into rice, fruits, &c.); the all-destroying Hara, with the threefold entertainment, (of dancing, singing and music); but the worshipper should always gratify Chaṇḍiká with animal sacrifice. Birds, tortoises, crocodiles, hogs, goats, buffaloes, guanos, porcupines, and the nine kinds of deer, yaks, black antelopes, crows, lions, fishes, the blood of one's own body, and camels are the sacrificial animals. In the absence of these sometimes horses and elephants. Goats, sarabha, (a young elephant, or a fabulous animal with eight legs,) and human beings in the order in which they are named, are respectively called *Bali* (sacrifice) *Mahábali*, (the great sacrifice,) and *Atibali* (highest sacrifice). Having placed the victim before the goddess, the worshipper should adore her by offering flowers, sandal paste, and bark, frequently repeating the mantra appropriate for sacrifice. Then, facing the north and placing the victim so as to face the East, he should look backward and repeat this mantra: 'O man, through my good fortune thou hast appeared as a victim; therefore I salute thee; thou multiform, and of the form of a victim. Thou, by gratifying Chaṇḍiká destroyeth all evil incidents to the giver. Thou, a victim, who appeareth as a sacrifice meet for the Vaishṇaví, havest my salutations. Victims were created by the self-born himself for sacrificial rites; I shall slaughter thee to-day, and slaughter at a sacrifice is no murder.'—Then meditating on that human-formed victim a flower should be thrown on the top of its head with the mantra 'Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, S'riñ'. Then, thinking of one's own wishes, and referring to the goddess, water should be sprinkled on the victim. Thereafter, the sword should be consecrated with the mantra, 'O sword, thou art the tongue of Chaṇḍi-

ká, and bestower of the region of the gods, Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, S'riñ. Black, and holding the trident, (thou art) like the last dreadful night of creation; born fierce, of bloody eyes and mouth, wearing a blood-red garland, and equally sanguinary unguents (on thy person), arrayed in blood-red garment, and holding a noose, master of a family, drinking blood, and munching heaps of flesh, thou art *Así*, (that which eats away the head of its victim); thou art *Vis'asana*, (the drier up of its victim); thou art *Khadga*, (that which tears up); thou art *Tikshnadhára* (keen-edged); thou art *Durásada*, (the giver of difficultly attainable objects); thou art *S'rígarbha*, (the womb of prosperity); thou art *Vijaya*, (victory); thou art *Dharmapála*, (protector of the faith); salutations be to thee.' The sword having been thus consecrated, should be taken up while repeating the mantra 'ÁÑ HÚÑ PHAṬ', and the excellent victim slaughtered with it. Thereafter, carefully sprinkling on the blood of the victim, water, rock-salt, honey, aromatics, and flowers, it should be placed before the goddess, and the skull also with a lamp burning over it should be placed before her with the mantra, 'Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, Sriñ, Kausiki, thou art gratified with the blood.' Thus having completed the sacrifice, the worshipper attains rich reward."*

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* श्रीभगवानुवाच। बलिदानं ततः पश्चात् कुर्य्याद्देव्याः प्रमोदकं।
मोदकैर्गजवक्त्रञ्च हविषा तोषयेद्धरिं॥
तौर्य्यत्रिकैश्च नियमैः शङ्करं तोषयेद्धरं।
चण्डिकां बलिदानेन तोषयेत् साधकः सदा॥
पक्षिणः कच्छपग्राहा वराहाश्छागलास्तथा।
महिषो गोधिका शाल्लस्तथा नवविधा मृगाः॥
चामरः कृष्णसारश्च यमः पञ्चाननस्तथा।
मत्स्याः स्वगात्ररुधिरं चोष्ट्रका बलयो मताः॥
अभावे च तथैवैषां कदाचिद्धयहस्तिनौ।
छागलः सरभश्चैव नरश्चैव यथाक्रमात्॥
बलिर्महाबलिरतिबलयः परिकीर्त्तिताः।
स्थापयित्वा बलिन्तत्र पुष्पचन्दनवल्कलैः॥

It is not necessary for me to swell the bulk of this paper already more swollen than what I at first intended to make it, by collecting notes of all the places where, and the occasion when, the rite of Narabali was performed, in order to show how widespread was the practice during the middle ages and modern times. Ward has given several instances of its occurrence in Bengal in his elaborate dissertation on the Hindus. The fact is well-known that for a long time the rite was common all over Hindustan ; and persons are not wanting who suspect that there are still nooks and corners in India where human victims are occasionally slaughtered for the gratification of the Deví. In old families which belong to the sect of the Vámácháris, and whose ancestors formerly offered human victims at the Durgá and the Káli pújás, a practice still ob-

पूजयेत् साधको देवीं बलिमन्त्रैर्मुहुर्मुहुः ।
उत्तराभिमुखो भूत्वा बलिं पूर्व्वमुखन्तथा ॥
निरीक्ष्य साधकः पश्चादिमं मन्त्रमुदीरयेत् ।
नरस्त्वं बलिरूपेण मम भाग्यादुपस्थितः ।
प्रणमामि ततः सर्व्वरूपिणं बलिरूपिणं ॥
चण्डिकाप्रीतिदानेन दातुरापद्विनाशिने ।
वैष्णवीबलिरूपाय बले तुभ्यं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
यज्ञार्थे बलयः सृष्टाः स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा ।
अतस्त्वां घातयाम्यद्य तस्माद् यज्ञे बधोऽबधः ॥
ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं इति मन्त्रेण तं बलिं नररूपिणं ।
चिन्तयित्वा न्यसेत् पुष्पं मूर्द्ध्नि तस्य च भैरव ॥
ततो देवीं समुद्दिश्य कामसुद्दिश्य चात्मनः ।
अभिषिच्य बलिं पश्चात् करवालं प्रपूजयेत् ॥
रसना त्वं चण्डिकायाः सुरलोकप्रसाधकः ।
क्रीं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं खड्गेति मन्त्रेण खड्गं प्रपूजयेत् ॥
कृष्णं पिनाकपाणिञ्च कालरात्रिस्वरूपिणं ।
उग्रं रक्तास्यनयनं रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनं ॥
रक्ताम्बरधरञ्चैव पाशहस्तं कुटुम्बिनं ।
पिबमानञ्च रुधिरं भुञ्जानं क्रव्यसंहतिं ॥

tains of sacrificing an effigy, in lieu of a living man. The effigy, a foot long, is made of dried milk *(khíra)*, and sacrificed according to the formula laid down in the Kálíká Puráṇa, the only addition being a few mantras designed typically to vivify the image. A friend of mine, Bábu Hemachandra Ker, Deputy Magistrate of Twenty-four Pergunnahs and author of an excellent work on the culture of Jute in Bengal, informs me that in the eastern districts of Bengal this sacrifice is frequently performed, but the image, instead of being slaughtered by a single individual, is cut up simultaneously by all the grown-up members of the family, either with separate knives, or with a single knife held jointly by all. This is known by the name of *Satrubali* or "sacrifice of an enemy." The sacrifice, both in the case of Nara-and the S'atru-bali, is performed secretly, generally at midnight. The *S'atrubali*, however, is a distinct rite, apart from the Narabali of the Kálíká Puráṇa, and authority for it occurs in the Vrihanníla Tantra, in which it is said, after performing certain other rites therein described, "a king should sacrifice his enemy (in an effigy) made with dried milk *(khíra)*. He should slaughter it himself, looking at it with a fiery glance, striking deep, and dividing it into two with a single stroke. This should be done after infusing life into it by the rite of *Práṇa-pratishṭhá*, and repeating the name

असिर्विशसनः खड्गस्तीक्ष्णधारो दुरासदः ।
श्रीगर्भो विजयश्चैव धर्म्मपाल नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
पूजयित्वा ततः खड्गं आँ ह्रुँ फड़िति मन्त्रकैः ।
गृहीत्वा विमलं खड्गं छेदयेद् बलिमुत्तमं ॥
ततो बलीनां रुधिरं तोयैः सैन्धवतत्फलैः ।
मधुभिर्गन्धपुष्पैश्च अधिवास्य प्रयत्नतः ॥
ओँ ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं कौशिकीति रुधिराप्यायितासि तं ।
स्थाने नियोजयेद्रक्तं शिरश्च सप्रदीपकं ।
एवं दत्त्वा बलिं पूर्णां फलं प्राप्नोति साधकः ॥

Kálíká Puráṇa. Chapter 56.

of the person to be destroyed. O consort of Mahes'a, he doubtless destroys thereby his enemies."*

It may not be amiss to notice here that, apart from the sacrifices enjoined in the Sástras, there used, in former times, to be offered human victims to several *dii minoris* by way of expiations or good-will offerings whenever a newly excavated tank failed to produce sufficient water, or a temple or building cracked, accidents which were attributed to malevolent divinities who generally yielded to the seductive influence of sanguinary offerings. Mr. Wheeler suggests, I know not on what authority, that such offerings were often made to avert possible accidents. He says it was customary with the Hindu Rájás to lay the foundation of public buildings in human blood. Such cruelties were unknown to Musalman rule; and that they were revived by Shah Jehan. He caused several animals to be slaughtered at Delhi, their blood was shed on the foundaations of the city."‡

The offering of one's own blood to the goddess to which reference has been made above in the extract from the Kálíká Puráṇa, is a mediæval and modern rite. It is made by women, and there is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not at one time or other, shed her blood, under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and on the first Durgá Pújá

ततः शत्रुबलिं राजा दद्यात् क्षीरेण निर्म्मितं ।
स्वयं विन्ध्यात् क्रोधदृष्ट्या प्रहारजनकेन च ॥
कोपेन बधकृद्देवि सत्यं सत्यं महेश्वरि ।
प्राणप्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा वै शत्रुनाम्ना महेश्वरि ।
शत्रुक्षया महेशानि भवत्येव न संशयः ॥

† History of India IV., p. 278.

following, or at the temple at *Kálíghát*, or at some other sacred fane, the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then bares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and with a nail-cutter, *(naruna)* draws a few drops of blood from between her busts, and offers them to the divinity. The last time I saw the ceremony was six years ago, when my late revered parent, tottering with age, made the offering for my recovery from a dangerous and long-protracted attack of pleurisy. Whatever may be thought of it by persons brought up under a creed different from that of the Indo-Aryans, I cannot recall to memory the fact without feeling the deepest emotion for the boundless affection which prompted it.

Of human sacrifices among the non-Aryan tribes of India, it is not my intention to make any mention here, so I bring this paper to a close by adding the following summary of the conclusions which may be fairly drawn from the facts cited above:

1*st*. That, looking to the history of human civilization and the rituals of the Hindus, there is nothing to justify the belief that in ancient times the Hindus were incapable of sacrificing human beings to their gods.

2*nd*. That the S'unahs'epha hymns of the Ṛik Sañhitá most probably refer to a human sacrifice.

3*rd*. That the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa refers to an actual and not a typical human sacrifice.

4*th*. That the Purushamedha originally required the actual sacrifice of men.

5*th*. That the S'atapatha Bráhmaṇa sanctions human sacrifice in some cases, but makes the Purushamedha emblematic.

6*th*. That the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa enjoins the sacrifice of a man at the Horse Sacrifice.

7*th*. That the Puráṇas recognise human sacrifices to Chaṇḍiká, but prohibit the Purushamedha rite.

8th. That the Tantras enjoin human *sacrifices to Chaṇḍiká*, and require that when human victims are not available, an effigy of a human being should be sacrificed to her.

XI.
FUNERAL CEREMONY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Exposure, the earliest form of obsequies. Then Immersion. Then Burial. Then Incremation. Cinerary urns. Sequence, not uniform. Causes thereof. Pársí rites of exposure and burial. Egyptian burial. Etruscan, Roman, Aztec and Greek cremation. Chinese burial. Tibetan, Sogdian and Bactrian practice of disposing of corpses by feeding dogs with them. Indo-Aryan burial. Authorities for cremation *cum* burial. Preparation for removal of the dead to the cremation ground. Conveyance. Relief in the way. A cow for companion, to be slaughtered, or let loose. Pyre. Placing of dead on pyre. Removal of the widow from the pyre. Removal of bow &c. Deposit on pyre of the sacrificial vessels of the defunct. Cremation. Substitute for the cow. Prayer about Kerberos. Ceremonials after cremation. Preparations for burial of cinerary remains. Procession. Burial. Rites for the well-being of the living. Return home preceded by a bull. Mantra for applying collyrium, applied to concremation. Verse implying remarriage of the widow.

IN the most primitive state of human society the simplest and most convenient mode of disposing of the dead would be to cast it into the nearest jungle, or deserted place, either to rot there, or to be eaten up by wild animals. The sight, however, of the remains of those who were at one time near and dear rotting by the road-side, or being mangled by carrion birds, would, with the first dawn of respect for the dead, suggest a change, and drowning corpses in the nearest river would be the next most convenient plan to put them out of sight. With the growth of society and the location of villages away from rivers a second change would become necessary, and this would result in burial. In primitive times land was nowhere scarce, and the trouble of digging a hole for the deposit of a dead body was much less than that of carrying it to the nearest river. A higher development of emotional, economic, and sanitary ideas would

suggest incremation. But as custom in settled states of life exercised a potent influence on human action, it would not be easy to pass from one custom to another without a compromise. This is evident in the case of funerals in which incremation is the first process, and burial of the ashes the next. The ashes were usually buried in earthen vessels, and cinerary urns, therefore, form the most prominent objects of antiquarian remains. A further advance would be shown by dispensing with the urns, and casting the ashes into the nearest river or lake. And all these forms of disposing of the dead have been adopted by man at different times and under different circumstances.

These innovations, however, have not always kept pace with the progress of society and advancement of culture, nor have they everywhere followed each other in regular sequence. Under the potent sway of custom they have been checked at different stages, or so modified as to remove the more offensive features of each plan, without in any way affecting its general outline. Religion, climate, locality, and the faculty of imitation have also exercised considerable influence in disturbing their sequence, and in introducing modifications.

Men whose national custom is incremation, betake to burial on becoming Christians. In Arctic and other countries where fuel is scarce and dear, burial must recommend itself as more economical than burning, and out on the sea even Englishmen ordinarily resort to immersion. At first announcement the faculty of imitation may appear a very unlikely cause for change in funerals; but man unquestionably inherits that faculty of his Darwinian ancestors, and even in funerals cannot always resist its promptings. Many Hindus, after travelling in Europe, have, without changing their religion, adopted the practice of burial.

Nothing can appear more repulsive to civilised man than that of flinging the remains of his revered parents, or dear

wife, or beloved children, into the nearest jungle, or on the most easily accessible rock, for the purpose of their being eaten up by wild animals, and the first step in the advancement of culture would suggest a change; but this has not always been the case. Among the Pársís, notwithstanding their ancient and well-advanced civilization, that most primitive form of disposal of the dead still obtains. The persistency of custom has, in their case, withstood the culture of many thousand years, the only change noticeable being the introduction of an enclosing wall in the neighbourhood of towns and cities to keep the loathsome or mangled objects out of public gaze, and the occasional use of a charnel house for the deposit of the bones. The corpses are allowed to rot, or to be eaten up by vultures, even as in the case of the most primitive and barbarous races, and the association of ideas is as revolting in the one case as in the other. Bearing in mind, however, that the dead must be disposed of somehow, it must be added that there is nothing very repulsive in a Dakhmá, or Tower of Silence, as the place of exposure is called in the Bombay Presidency. The enclosures are situated in out-of-the-way places; their walls are high; the surrounding ground, also enclosed by a wall, is kept clean and well cultivated; the corpse is slipped into the enclosure through a hole which is closed immediately after the body has been deposited in its place; and there is little to offend the sight or hurt the feeling. Practically the body disappears from the gaze of the world just in the same way as a body buried under earth.

It is said that in some parts of Persia ancient graves have been found which must have belonged to Pársís, and the inference has been drawn by some that the Pársís have reverted to the primitive process of exposure after having for some time practised burial; but the premise does not justify the conclusion. In places where the primitive process is not practicable the Pársís, even in the present day, resort to burial,

and there is nothing to show that the graves seen, admitting for the sake of argument that they are of very remote antiquity, were the symbols of a universal practice, and not the results of exceptional circumstances.

It is certain that the ancient Pársís well knew the rite of burial, for in the Vendidád mention is made of it under the name of *Násuspaya*, the term for burning being *Násuspachya* (Farg. I. vv. 13-17); but verses 45 and 51 in Fargárd VII insist upon disinterring buried corpses for exposure to the sun, and capital punishment is ordained against those who are guilty of burning the dead (Farg. VIII. vv. 73—74). Rules have also been laid down for the collection of the bones of persons who have died in wild places, and for their preservation in charnel houses, called *Uzdáns* in Zend and *astodáns* in Pehlavi. These facts tend to prove that both exposure and burial were well known, but the former was the more common and generally recognised rite, and the latter a makeshift or tentative measure, to be adopted when the former was not practicable. The religious idea underlying the ceremonial rite is that exposure served to purify the remains by contact with the rays of the sun, which is the great visible emblem of the invisible Godhead.

The word Dakhmá, used to indicate the place where the exposure is made, suggests the idea that incremation was not unknown to the Pársís. The word comes from *Dah* 'to burn' both in Sanskrit and Zend, and in the Vendidád (Farg. VII., v. 51) it has been used to imply tombs or sepultures. But this is a phase of the question which it is not necessary to enter upon here.

In Egypt burial succeeded disposal in desert places, at a very early age, and was supplemented by the process of embalming. The embalming has now been dropped ; but the burial still continues. In Arabia and Asia Minor burial seems to have been the immemorial custom. The Greeks, the Etrus-

cans, and the Romans in early times had incremation, and so had the Aztecs. In China burial is the rule and incremation the exception.

The drowning of the dead in a river or lake seems never to have anywhere obtained wide currency, but it is resorted to everywhere when other means are not accessible.

Generally speaking each nation adheres to one form of obsequies at a time; but this is not always the case. Particular sects and distinctive family customs often intervene, and produce diversity. In illustration of this remark I may refer to Tibet where may be found the concurrent currency of four different kinds of obsequies in the present day. According to the Lazarist Missionary Abbé Huc, some people there resort to incremation, others to immersion in rivers and lakes, others to exposure on mountains, and others to the most disgusting process of cutting up the corpse into small pieces and feeding dogs with it.* The is the survival of a custom which, according to Herodotus, Strabo and Cicero, obtained among the Persians, the Sogdians, the Bactrians, the Hyrcanians and other Aryan tribes. And Prejvalsky has recently noticed its currency among the Northern Mongolians.† The practice must have come on immediately after exposure, of which it is a modification. Exposure implied either rotting, or destruction by dogs, jackals and carrion birds, and the latter much more frequently than the former. But in the latter case the element of chance predominated, and it was quite uncertain when the destruction would be completed by stray animals. To obviate this uncertainty wild dogs were, it

* Quatre espèces differents de sépulture sont en rigueur dans le Thibet: première est le combustion; la deuxième, l'immersion dans les fleuves et les lacs; la troisième, l'exposition sur le sommet des montagnes; et la quatrième, qui est la plus flatteuse de toutes, consiste à couper les cadavres par morceau et à les faire manger aux chiens. Cette dernière méthode est les plus courue". Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie. &c., II, p. 347.

† See Appendix to this article.

would seem, enticed to frequent the places where the dead were cast, even as in the present day the Pársís carry vultures to those places where they are scarce, but where their services are needed. Such enticement repeated often would result in domestication, and the cutting up of the corpse to facilitate rapid consumption is an innovation that is easily introduced.

A reminiscence of this action still exists among the Pársís. It is customary among them to keep one or more dogs in every Dakhmá, and a compulsory part of the funeral rite is to make the dog or dogs look at every corpse brought to the place before it is consigned to the place of exposure. This is called *sagdíd*, or the inspection by a dog. To proceed further, the myth of Kerberos, so universal all over the Aryan world, appears to be also a souvenir of a like practice in the primitive home of the Aryans. The dog is placed at the portal of death between eternity and the world, and transition from the one to the other cannot be effected except through his jaws. The three heads of Kerberos either typify plurality, or constant and many-sided watchfulness which cannot be evaded, or both. The myth occurs in the Veda as well as among the Greeks, the Romans and the Teutons, proving incontestively its extreme antiquity. In the Rig Veda plurality is indicated in one place by the epithet "two," and elsewhere by the word dog being used in the plural number, and watchfulness by each dog being endowed with four eyes.

Among Indo-Aryans the progress of the ceremony for disposing of the dead has been in exact accordance with the theory set forth above. The first scheme of exposure was probably current when they lived in the same home along with the ancient Pársís. As members of the same race they must have followed the same practice in so important a matter as obsequies. When they separated and took to a new form of religion, the necessity for conformation to national usage no longer existed, nay, the necessity for a

change to mark their total distinction from their former brotherhood was pressingly felt, and burial was at once resorted to. This continued probably from their advent in India to about the 14th or 13th century, B. C. Then came incremation with a subsequent burial of the ashes. This lasted from the 14th or 13th century, B. C. to the early part of the Christian era, when the burial was altogether dispensed with, or substituted by consignment of the ashes to a river. Of these four forms of obsequies the first, or exposure, is deducible from inference only: there is no documentary evidence in support of it. The second or burial is traceable in only a single hymn of the Ṛig Veda. The third or incremation *cum* burial is described in the Aitareya ·Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda, and by almost all the Sútrakáras.* And the fourth is the modern ritual.†

The credit of first bringing to the notice of Europeans the former currency of the practice of burial among the Hindus is due to Dr. Roth. It was in 1854 that he called the attention of oriental scholars, in a paper entitled *Die Todtenbestattung indischen alterthum*‡ to the hymn on which the inference is founded. In the following year Professor Max Müller followed up the enquiry by publishing the details of the funeral ceremony as described by As'valáyana. Professor Wilson

* From personal knowledge I can speak only of the Sútras of A's'valáyana, Baudháyana, Hiraṇyakes'í, A'pastambha, Bharadvája, Sáṇkháyana and Kátyáyana, besides Baudháyana-prayogasára, and Hiraṇyakes'i-antyeshṭi-prayoga of Abhayankara Bhaṭṭa.

† The leading works are: 1. Antyeshṭi-paddhatí of Náráyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; 2. Nárasiñhíya-prayoga-párijáta; 3. Ahitágner dáha-paddhati; 4. Smṛiti-kalpads'uma; 5. Gangávákyávalí; 6. Jatamalla-vilása; 7. Sapiṇḍíkaraṇa; 8. S'uddhikála of Bhavadeva; 9. Smṛitisára of Harinátha; 10, Dharma-pravṛitti of Náráyana Paṇḍita; 11. Mumurshukṛitya; 12. S'uddhi-mayúkha; 13. Madana-pári játa; 14, S'údra-dharma-tattva of Kamalákara; 15. Nirṇaya-sindhu, 16. S'rád-dhapaddhati of Vis'vanátha Bhaṭṭa, 17. Trins'achhhloki-bháshya; 18. S'rád-dha-vivka of S'úlapanl, 19. Hemádri-s'ráddha-khaṇḍa; 20. S'uddhi-tattva and others.

‡ Zeitschrift Deutch, Morg. Gesselschoft, viii.

soon after gave an English version of this paper in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.' (Vol. XVI.) And, in 1858, Dr. Whitney read, before the American Oriental Society, a paper on "the Vedic Doctrine of a Future Life," in which he dwelt specially on the burial rite as distinct from the incremation cum burial ceremony of the Sútrakáras.

The hymn on which the above papers are based occurs in the 8th book of the Rig Veda (M. X. II. 18.), and is attributed to Saṅkusuka, son of Yama. Professor Whitney takes exception to its English version by Dr. Wilson, "because," he says, "like most of Wilson's translations from the Veda itself, it is made rather from the native commentary than from the Veda itself, and neither in spirit, nor as an accurate translation, fairly represents its original."* It is undeniable that Wilson's version is not literally accurate, but the argument on which this accuracy has been questioned does not appear to me to be conclusive. I am disposed to think that in questions of this kind it is safer to rely on native exegetes with their traditional lore derived from a long and unbroken line of experts extending to remote antiquity, than to accept the spirit of the work as caught by foreigners of the present day by their leisure-hour study of the subject. The education and association of ideas of the latter are by no means the most favourable to a correct appreciation of the phases of thought of the Rishis who lived long before the time of Moses. It is not in our power to throw ourselves back wholly into the condition of mind of those who lived four and thirty centuries back, and concordance is but a poor substitute for traditional knowledge. The public, besides, want to know what the natives understand their texts to mean, and not what foreign critics think they should mean. I have no hesitation, therefore, to submit the following traslation founded on that of Dr. Wilson, and modified with reference to the opinions of Indian ex-

* Oriental and Linguistic Studies, I, p. 51.

egetes, in preference to the metrical version of the learned professor. The hymn runs thus:

1. "Depart, Death, by a different path, by that which is thine own, different from the path of the gods. I speak to thee who hast eyes, who hast ears. Injure not our female progeny, harm not our heroes.*

2. "May ye, who, giving up the path of Death, have come to this (side), be fully possessed of prolonged existence. May ye, the performers of sacrifice, thrive with progeny, and be pure and sanctified.†

3. "May these, who are living, be kept distinct from the

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* In Dr. Whitney's version the word *para* has been rendered into 'distant'. It also means 'other', and the equivalent 'different' given by Dr. Wilson is not inconsistent. Sáyaṇa uses *anya* 'other' in contrast with the path of the gods. There is nothing to suggest the idea that the path of Death is more remote than that of the gods. The last clause has *prajám virán* "descendants" and "heroes," and Dr. Whitney accepts those meanings; but as every mourner cannot be expected to have heroes, besides his children, the commentator very correctly takes the feminine noun *prajá* to mean female descendants, 'daughters and her issue', and the *virán* to mean 'male issue' 'the sons and grandsons' who may not inaptly be called heroes. The first word would have sufficed for all descendants, but two words having been used in the text a distinction becomes necessary.

† Dr. Wilson renders this verse into "ye who approach the path of Death, but are possessed of prolonged existence, ye who are entitled to reverence, prosperous with offspring and wealth, may ye be pure and sanctified." The participle *yopayanta* in the text means 'to give up,' 'forsake' and not 'to approach,' and the verb *aita* becomes redundant. *Yajñiyásah*, the performers or institutors of a sacrifice, finds an imperfect equivalent in "entitled to reverence." Dr. Whitney's version is even more wide of the mark. It runs thus:

"Ye who death's foot have clogged ere ye came hither,
your life and vigor long yet retaining,
Sating yourselves with progeny and riches,
clean be ye now, and purified, ye offerers!"

The only justification in the text for the clogging of the feet is the word *pada* "foot," "footsteps" or "path." Word for word the text runs thus: "O Death, path, forsaking, since, come, prolonged, life, fully, sustaining. Thriving,' with progeny, with wealth, pure, sanctified, may you be, performers of sacrifices.' To deduce from these words the process of clogging the foot is not to abide strictly by the text.

dead; may the offering we present this day to the gods be propitious; we go with our faces to the east, to dance and to laugh, for we are in the enjoyment of prolonged life.* ·

4. "I place this barrier † (of stones) for the living, on this account, that no other may go beyond it. May they live a hundred numerous autumns, keeping death at a distance by this hill.

5. "As days follow days in succession, and seasons are succeeded by seasons in due order, so a successor does not sake a predecessor (by irregular death); may Dhátri, regulate the lives of these (my kinsmen).

6. "Ascend to life, anticipating old age, and trying to follow due order according to your number. May Tvashṭri, the well-born, being propitious, grant you prolonged life here.

7. "Let these women, who are not widowed, who have good husbands, applying the collyrious butter to their eyes, enter; ‡ without tears, without disease, and full of ornaments, let these wives first enter the house.

8. "Rise up, woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone; come come to the world of the living away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who grasps thy hand, and is willing to marry thee.

9. "I take the bow from the hand of the dead, for our glory, might and prowess. Here verily art thou, and we here, with our valiant descendants, shall overcome all intriguing, arrogant adversaries.

10. "Enter the mother earth, the wide-spread earth; beneficent to the liberal man, she is a maiden and as soft as wool:

* Dr. Whitney's version makes the first clause run thus: "These have come here, not of the dead, but living." Dr. Wilson has "those" for "these" *(ime)*. For "we go" the original has "we have gone" *(agáma)*, but in the Veda the different tenses are very carelessly used.

† Dr. Whitney has "protection" for barrier or a part of a circle, *paridhi*. *Paridhi* has nowhere the primary meaning of protection.

‡ Dr. Whitney has "May decorate themselves with ointments and with perfume," but there is nothing corresponding to "perfume" in the text.

may she protect thee from the proximity of the evil being Nirriti, sin personified).

11. "Earth, let his breath rise upward (easily); oppress him not; be easy of access to him; treat him kindly; even as a mother covers her son with the end of her cloth, so do ye, earth, cover him.

12. "May the earth so lightly rest on him that his breath may ascend; may thousands of particles (of soil) rest upon him; may these homes be ever sprinkled with clarified butter; may they, for all time, be his asylum.

13. "I heap up earth above thee, and placing this clod of earth may I not hurt thee. May the manes protect this thy monument, and Yama ever grant thee here an abode.

14. "New days sanction me, as the feather upholds the shaft, but I restrain my speech, now grown old, as the horse is held back by the reins."*

* परं मृत्यो अनुपरेहि पन्थां यस्ते स्व इतरो देवयानात् । चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ते ब्रवीमि मा नः प्रजां रीरिषो मोत वीरान् ॥ १ ॥

मृत्योः पदं योपयन्तो यदैत द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः । आप्यायमानाः प्रजया धनेन शुद्धाः पूता भवत यज्ञियासः ॥ २ ॥

इमे जीवा वि मृतैराववृत्रन्नभूद्भद्रा देवहूतिर्नो अद्य । प्राञ्चो अगाम नृतये हसाय द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः ॥ ३ ॥

इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मैषां नु गादपरो अर्थमेतं । शतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरूचीरन्तर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्व्वतेन ॥ ४ ॥

यथाहान्यनुपूर्व्वं भवन्ति यथ ऋतव ऋतुभिर्यन्ति साधु । यथा न पूर्व्वमपरो जहात्येवा धातरायूंषि कल्पयैषां ॥ ५ ॥

आ रोहतायुर्जरसं वृणाना अनुपूर्व्वं यतमाना यति ष्ठ । इह त्वष्टा सुजनिमा सजोषा दीर्घमायुः करति जीवसे वः ॥ ६ ॥

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु । अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ ७ ॥

उदीर्ष्व नार्य्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपशेष एहि । हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसंबभूथ ॥ ८ ॥

धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मृतस्यास्मे क्षत्राय वर्चसे बलाय । अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वाः स्पृधो अभिमातीर्जयेम ॥ ९ ॥

Obviously we have in this hymn the whole of the funeral ceremony, and that it is a funeral hymn is evident from its having been all along used by the Hindus in the performance of their funeral rites. Assuming that the dead has been brought to the place where it is to be disposed off, and reading between the lines, we have in the first verse an address by the officiating priest or whoever took the lead to Mrityu (death personified) to be content with what he has already taken, and to depart, leaving the family of the dead unmolested. The next two are prayers for the welfare of the party of relatives and friends who have come to the funeral. The separation of the dead from the living is then symbolised by raising a stone barrier which Death may not transgress. The party then retire to the protection of the stone fence, and further blessings follow. The men retire first, the married women after them, and for them a special prayer is given in verse 7. The widow of the dead is not included among them ; she remains lying by the corpse. A relative or servant now advances and removes her, addressing to her verse 8. That person at the same time takes the bow from the hand of the dead, who has no further use for it. This is accomplished while repeating the 9th verse. The corpse is now deposited in the grave with the 10th verse, which encourages it with the assurance that the earth will do it no harm, and protect

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उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतामुरुव्यचसं पृथिवीं सुशेवां । ऊर्णम्रदा युवतिर्दक्षिणावत एषा त्वा पातु निर्ऋतेरुपस्थात् ॥ १० ॥

उच्छ्वञ्चस्व पृथिवि मा नि बाधथाः सूपायनास्मै भव सूपवञ्चना । माता पुत्रं यथा सिचाभ्येनं भूम ऊर्णुहि ॥ ११ ॥

उच्छ्वञ्चमाना पृथिवी सु तिष्ठतु सहस्रं मित उप हि श्रयंतां । ते गृहासो घृतश्चुतो भवन्तु विश्वाहास्मै शरणाः सन्त्वत्र ॥ १२ ॥

उत्ते स्तभ्नामि पृथिवीं त्वत्परीमं लोगं निदधन्मो अहं रिषं । एतां स्थूणां पितरो धारयन्तु तेऽत्रा यमः सादना ते मिनोतु ॥ १३ ॥

प्रतीचीने मामहनीष्वाः पर्णमिवा दधुः । प्रतीचीं जग्रभा वाचमश्वं रशनया यथा ॥ १४ ॥

it from all injury. This is supplemented in the next verse by an address to the Earth to treat the dead with every mark of kindness and affection. The idea is carried through the next two verses which indicate the filling of the grave with earth. The last verse, an obscure one, is the epilogue of the poet, or the priest, who expresses his gratification at having satisfactorily accomplished his task.

The simplicity of the ideas, the natural flow of the language, and the vividness and dramatic detail with which the whole ceremony is described, leave no doubt in the mind as to what is intended. The body is deposited in the earth and the earth is invoked to lie lightly on it. There is no mention of fire, none of a pyre, none of wood and burning, to suggest anything like incremation ; and few would question the propriety of accepting this hymn as a positive proof of the earliest rite having been burial, and not incremation. This inference, however, though supported by some casual verses in other parts of the Veda, is opposed to certain positive statements, in a preceding hymn of the same Veda, where fire is invoked not to hurt the body consigned to it, and incremation is clearly and unmistakably indicated. Native exegetes reconcile these passages by saying that those verses which refer to fire are intended for the cremationary rite, and those which name the earth are designed for the burial rite which should be subsequently administered to the charred bones and ashes. This interpretation necessitates the dislocation of the verses, and their acceptance as independent mantras, unconnected with their surroundings. This is the way in which the mantras have been interpreted elsewhere for ceremonial purposes, and the process does not appear to be objectionable to Indian paṇḍits. Reading the hymn as it stands in the collection, it is impossible, however, to accept its component verses to be independent, heterogeneous matter, unconnected with each other. There is fair concord and agreement, and the development of one idea through-

out the whole length of each hymn is unmistakable. And it is difficult to resist the conclusion that each hymn was composed for a specific purpose, and its several verses referred to that and no other object. Ritual exigencies may have disjointed them in the Yajur Veda, but in the Ṛik, they have been preserved in their integrity. The native exegetes themselves admit this much. Such being the case, and bearing in mind the fact that the hymns are of different dates, by different authors, of different purport, and put together with no reference to any chronological order, I think the assumption that the burial hymn or the 18th S'ukta of the 10th book is the oldest, and it preserves the reminiscence of an ancient burial ceremony, and the verses of the 14th S'ukta contain the mantras of the later rite of incremation, is the right one. Their fusion into one hymn by the Áraṇyaka and the S'útras, was unavoidable for the preservation of consistency. The use of the term "later" is of course comparative, for the presence in the Ṛig Veda of the invocation to Agni in connexion with the burning of a corpse shows clearly that the rite of cremation dates from a very early period, but the elaboration of the ritual in subsequent works shows that it followed, or survived, the burial rite.

The oldest work in which the fusion of the two rites is found is the Áraṇyaka portion of the Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda.

This Áraṇyaka describes the ceremonies under the title of *Pitrimedha*, or rites for the welfare of the manes, the *Justa facere* or *ferre* of the Romans and the *τὰ δικαια* or *τα νόμιμα* of the Greeks, and gives all the mantras required for the ceremonials of the first ten days after death, leaving the *s'ráddha*, or the rites meet for the eleventh day, altogether unnoticed. The mantras are taken mostly from the Ṛig Veda, but their readings are in some instances modified. They are arranged in the consecutive order of the rite, but without any clue to the particular ri-

tuals for which they are intended. The Sútrakáras of the Black Yajus supply this deficiency, and as they point out several peculiarities not to be found in Ás'valáyana, I propose to give here a summary of the subject. The bulk of the mantras and the rules are the same as given by Ás'valáyana ; but as that author's work, lately published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has already been commented upon by Dr. Max Müller it is not necessary to notice it in detail.

Among the ancient Greeks, even as early as Homer's time the first rite to be performed over the dead was the closing of lips and eyes as the first service of love on the part of the surviving relatives or friends (τὸ γάρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.). This practice also obtained among the Romans. "The nearest relative used to recieve the last breath of the dying person in a kiss *(extremum spiritum ore excipere)*; his hand also closed the eyes and the mouth of the deceased, so as to produce a peaceful impression of death." There is no mention of this rite in any Hindu work, and nothing of the kind was done. The usual practice was to cover the body including the face with a sheet.

The first mantra given in the Áraṇyaka refers to the performance of a homa immediately after the death of a man who had always maintained the sacrificial fires in his house. According to Baudháyana, four offerings should be made while touching the right hand of the dead, to the *Gárhapatya* fire, with a spoon overflowingly full of clarified butter. Bharadvája prefers the *Áhavaníya* fire, and is silent as to whether the offering should be fourfold or not. Ás'valáyana recommends the rite to be performed at a subsequent stage of the funeral. All three take it for granted that death has happened within the house, if not near the place where the sacrificial fires are kept, and none has anything to say regarding the taking of the dying to the river-side, or of the ceremony of immersing the lower half of the body in water at the moment

of death, *(antarjali)* which forms so offensive a part of the modern ceremonial in Bengal, and which has been, by a flourish of incisive rhetoric and at a considerable sacrifice of truth, called "ghát murder." Looking to this negative evidence against it, to its total absence in other parts of India, and to the oldest authorities on the subject being the most recent of the Puráṇas, it may be fairly concluded that it is of modern origin. None of the authorities usually quoted enjoins it as a positive duty, and it has come into general practice probably since the date of the Puráṇas.*

Among the Greeks and the Romans the practice of exhibiting the dead for some days or keeping it in a lying-in state (προθεσις) necessitated the washing and dressing of the corpse immediately after death; but the climate of India did not admit of the exhibition, and the removal of the body to

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* The authorities usually quoted are the following:—

शुद्धितत्त्वे १६७। गङ्गायां त्यजतः प्राणान् कथयामि वरानने। कर्णे तत्परमं ब्रह्म ददामि मामकं पदं॥ स्कान्दं।

"I shall relate to you, O handsome-faced, the merit of giving up life in the Ganges. I give him (who does so) my own rank, and pour into his ears the mantra of the Great Brahma." *Skanda Puráṇa* quoted in the *S'uddhi-tattva.*

२८२ प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वे। अर्द्धोदके तु जाह्नव्यां म्रियतेऽनशनेन यः। स याति न पुनर्जन्म ब्रह्मसायुज्यमेति च॥ आग्नेयं। अर्द्धोदकं चरणाद्याभि-पर्य्यन्तमिति स्मार्त्तव्याख्या २८६। नाभ्यन्तर्गततोयानां मृतानां कापि देहिनां। सर्व्व तीर्थफलावाप्तिः नात्र कार्य्या विचारणात्॥ स्कान्दं॥

"He who, fasting, dies with half his body immersed in the water of the Jáhnaví (Ganges) is never born again, and attains equality with Brahma." *Agni Puráṇa*, quoted in the *Práyas'-chitta-tattva.*

"The embodied who dies with its body up to the navel in water, attains the fruit of all the sacred waters, (tirthas.) There is no doubt about it." *Skanda Purána.*

क्रियायोगसारे। गङ्गायां त्यजतां देहं भूयो जन्म न विद्यते इति।१२।

"After giving up the body in the Ganges there is no second birth." *Kriyá-yogasára.*

सन्त्यज्य देहं गङ्गायां ब्रह्महापि च मुक्तये। ४५।

"Even the crime of Bráhmaṇicide may be expiated by giving up the body in the Ganges." *Kriyáyogasára.*

the cremation ground was effected soon after death. What the interval was is nowhere mentioned, nor is there any restriction as to the removal during the day or the night; but the funeral procession is required to remain out the whole day and return home after seeing the stars rise, and this would imply that the removal was made in the morning.* The proper time for the rite of ἐκφορά was the early morn. Among the early Greeks, who thought a night funeral very bad (ἡ κακος κακῶς ταφησηγνυκτος, οὐκ ἐν ἡμερα). Among the Romans slaves and very poor people were burnt at night, but the nobles and the rich during the forenoon when a large number of mourners, guests and spectators could be collected.

After the homa, a cot made of Udumbara wood *(Ficus glomerata)* is to be provided, and, having spread on it a piece of black antelope skin with the hairy side downwards and the head pointing to the south, the corpse is to be laid thereon with the face upwards. A son, brother or other relative, or in their absence whoever takes the lead, should next address the corpse to give up its old clothing, and dress it in a new suit. † The body is then covered with a piece of unbleached, uncut cloth, having fringes on both sides; the operation being performed while repeating a mantra. ‡ Then, wrapping it in its bedding or mat, it is to be borne on its cot to the place of cremation. The removal, according to some authorities, should be made by aged slaves; according to others on a cart drawn by two bullocks. The mantra for the purpose, says, "I

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* Vide appendix to this paper.

† The mantra for the purpose says :—

अपैतदूह यदिहाबिभः पुरा। इष्टापूर्तमनुसम्पश्य दक्षिणां यथा ते दत्तं बहुधा वि बन्धुषु ॥ १ ॥

"Give up the cloth thou hast hitherto worn; remember the ishṭa and púrta sacrifices thou hast performed, the fees (to Bráhmaṇs thou hast given) and those (gifts thou hast) bestowed on thy friends."

‡ इदन्त्वा वस्त्रं प्रथमं न्वागन् ॥ २ ॥

"This cloth comes to thee first."

harness these two bullocks to the cart, for the conveyance of your life, whereby you may repair to the region of Yama—to the place where the virtuous resort,"* clearly indicating that the most ancient custom was, to employ a cart and not men. Ás'valáyana suggests one bullock. Anyhow, the ancient Sútrakáras evince none of the repugnance to the employment of S'údras for the removal of the corpse of a Bráhmaṇ, which the modern Smárthas entertain on the subject. According to the latter, none but the kith and kin of the dead should perform this duty, and the touch of other than men of one's own caste is pollution which can be atoned for only by the performance of an expiatory ceremony.† When Sir Cecil Beadon, the late Lieutenant-

* अथैनममात्या आसन्द्या सह तत्तल्पेन कटेन वा संवेष्ट्य दासाः प्रवयसो वहेयुः अथैनं अनसा वहन्त्येकेषां अनश्वेद्युक्तात् ।

इमौ युनज्मि ते वह्नी असुनीथाय वोढवे । याभ्यां यमस्य सादनं सुकृताञ्चापि गच्छतात् ॥ ४ ॥

† This prejudice first manifested itself, though in a mitigated form, in the time of Manu's digest where it is said, "Let no kinsman, whilst any of his own class is at hand, cause a deceased Bráhmaṇ to be carried out by a S'údra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven." Chap. V., ver. 104. The following are the subsequent authorities:—

विष्णुः । मृतं द्विजं न शूद्रेण न च शूद्रं द्विजातिना । यमः । यस्यानयति शूद्रोऽग्निं तृणकाष्ठहवींषि च । वृहन्मनुः । श्वशूद्रपतिताश्चान्त्या मृताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे । शौचं तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा । दशरात्रा-च्छुनि मृते मासाच्छूद्रे भवेच्छुचिः । द्वाभ्यान्तु पतिते गेहं अन्त्ये मासचतुष्टयात् । अत्यन्त्ये वर्ज्जयेद्गेहमित्येवं मनुरब्रवीत् । यमः । द्विजस्य मरणे वेश्म विशुद्ध्यति दिनत्रयात् । दिनैकेन वहिर्भूमिरग्निप्रोक्षणलेपनैः ।

"The twice-born (dead) should not be removed by a S'údra, or a S'údra (dead) by a twice-born person.—*Vishṇu.*

"Whoever causes fire, grass, wood, and ghi to be brought by a S'údra (should perform an expiatory rite).—*Yama.* I shall now relate to you the mode of purification as ordained by Manu, from the pollution caused by a dog, S'údra, an outcast, and the low, dying in the house of a Bráhmaṇ. Ten nights for a dog, a month for a S'údra, twice that time for an outcast, and twice that for the low. The house should be forsaken in the case of the lowest, says Manu. *Vrihanmanu.*

Governor of Bengal, proposed the removal of the Hindu dead of Calcutta by the Mutlah Railway to Gariah, the strongest opposition was offered by the people, on the ground that it would involve a most serious pollution and loss of caste, to allow a corpse to be touched by other than its own caste-men. They quoted a number of texts in support of their opinion, including those given above, and had no doubt custom—a greater authority than written laws— to plead in their favour ; but the most revered and most ancient of their S′ástras was opposed to them, for it recommended for the Bráhmaṇ dead a bullock cart as the most fitting conveyance, and a S′údra slave as its substitute.

Among the Greeks the corpse was generally carried by the relations and friends. The Romans relegated the task of carriage to the nearest relatives and to slaves liberated by the last will of the deceased.

The road from the house to the burning-ground used to be divided into three stages, and at the end of each, the procession used to halt, deposit the body on its cot on the ground, and address a mantra. Ás′valáyana says nothing about the division of the road into stages, nor of the mantras to be repeated, but recommends the procession to be headed by the eldest member of the family. The first mantra in the Áraṇyaka runs as follows: "Pushá, who knows the road well, has well-trained animals, to carry you, and is the protector of regions, is bearing you away hence ; may he translate you hence to the region of the manes. May Agni, who knows what is meet for you, bear you away."* The commentator,

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A house becomes purified in three days after the death of a Bráhmaṇ ; the court-yard outside of the house is purified in one day by the touch of fire, and by smearing it with cow-dung.—*Yama.*

* Mantra to be repeated at the end of the first stage.

पूषा त्वेतश्च्यावयतु प्र विद्वाननष्टपशुर्भुवनस्य गोपाः । स त्वैतेभ्यः परि-ददात्पितृभ्योऽग्निर्देवेभ्यः सुविदत्रेभ्यः ॥ ५ ॥

in explaining the term *Anashṭapas'u*, "well-trained animals," attempts to include in the text the slaves recommended by the Sútrakáras by the remark "the human bearers are two-footed animals, and the two bullocks four-footed animals:" *váhakáh manushyáh dvipát-pas'avah anadvāhau chatuspátpas'ú.* The second and the third mantras are, in substance, very much like the first, and call for no remark.*

A most important member of the funeral procession was an animal called *anustaraṇí* or *rájagaví.* An old cow was recommended as the most appropriate, next a black one, next a black-eyed one, next one with black hairs, and lastly one with black hoofs. If none of these was available, a black tender-hoofed goat was substituted. Ás'valáyana recommends an animal of one colour, or a black kid, and says that it should be brought with a rope tied to the near fore-foot. The animal is to be brought with the mantra, "Protector of regions, this is an offering for thee."† An oblation is to be poured on the fire in connexion with this offering with the *idá* or *chamasa* spoon, saying, "May this prove acceptable to wealthy Agni."‡

According to the Sútrakáras, the cow should be sacrified,

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* Mantra to be repeated at the end of the second stage.

पूषेमा आशा अनुवेद सर्वाः सो अस्माँ अभयतमेन नेषत्। स्वस्तिदा आघृणिः सर्ववीरोऽप्रयुच्छन् पुर एतु प्रविद्वान् ॥ ६ ॥

"Pushá knows all these sides; may he bear you away hence by the safest road; may he, who is beneficent, kind to us, and mighty against all, knowing the road well, lead us without obstruction."

Mantra to be repeated at the end of the third stage.

आयुर्विश्वायुः परिपासति त्वा पूषा त्वा पातु प्रपथे पुरस्तात्। यत्राऽऽसते सुकृतो यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता दधातु ॥ ७ ॥

"The life, the life of the world wishes to take charge of you. May Pushá, leading, protect you in the difficult road; may the divine sun, leading you by the way of the virtuous, place you where the pious dwell."

† भुवनस्य पत इदं हविः ॥ ८ ॥

‡ अग्नये रयिमते स्वाहा ॥ ९ ॥

but should any accident happen at the time of the sacrifice, the fore left foot is to be broken, and the wound being dressed with dust, the animal is to be set free. The mantra for the sacrifice says: "Companion of the dead, we have removed the sins of the dead by thee; so that no sin or decrepitude may approach us."* The address after the immolation runs thus: "Companion of the dead, we have made thy life inert; thou attainest the earth by thy body, and the region of the manes by thy life. Pardon us and our children in this world."† A third address to the cow follows when her body is being dusted: it is to this effect—"O dear one, say not that I am so killed, for thou art a goddess and virtuous, going to the region of the manes, travelling by the adorable sky: keep us well supplied with milk in this and in the future world."‡

The Greeks did not carry "a companion of the dead" in their funeral processions; but they sacrificed several animals around the pyre.

If it be necessary to let loose the cow, she is to be made to walk thrice round the pyre, while the leader repeats a mantra each time, then sanctified by another which simply says, "Mayest thou be a source of satisfaction by thy milk to those who are living (in my family), and those who are dead, and those who are just born, as well as those who may be born hereafter,"§ and, lastly, let loose with the words, "This cow is the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus,

* पुरुषस्य सयावर्यपेदघानि मृज्महे। यथा नो अत्र नापरः पुरा जरस आयति ॥ १

† पुरुषस्य सयावरि वि ते प्राणमसिस्रसम्। शरीरेण महीमिहि स्वधयेहि पितॄनुप प्रजयाऽस्मानिहावह ॥ ११ ॥

‡ मैवं माऽ त्वा प्रियेऽहं देवी सती पितृलोकं यदैषि। विश्ववारा नभसा संव्ययन्त्युभौ नो लोकौ पयसाऽभ्यावहतुस्व ॥ १२ ॥

§ ये जीवा ये च मृता ये जाता ये च जन्त्याः। तेभ्यो घृतस्य धारयितुं मधुधारा व्युन्दती ॥

the sister of the Ádityas, and the pivot of our happiness, therefore I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this sacred harmless cow. Let her drink water and eat grass. Om! I let her loose."*

The next operations are to dig a trench, arrange fuel thereon, wash, shave, and pare the nails of, the corpse, and place it on the pyre along with the widow of the deceased. They were probably performed without the aid of any mantra, for the Áraṇyaka does not allude to them. The trench, according to Ás'valáyana, should be twelve fingers deep, five spans† wide, and as long as the corpse with its hands uplifted. The corpse, in the opinion of some, should be disembowelled, and the cavity filled with ghi—a reminiscence, probably, of some primitive process of embalming. When placed on the pyre, it should have in its hands, if a Bráhmaṇ, a bit of gold, if a Kshatryía a bow, if a Vais'ya, a jewel. The wife should lie down on the left side of the corpse according to Baudháyana and Sáyaṇa. Ás'valáyana recommends that she should be placed near the head on the north side. The chief mourner, or he who is to set fire to the pyre; should then address the dead saying, "O mortal, this woman, (your wife), wishing to be joined to you in a future world, (*lit.* to obtain the Patiloka, or the region of husbands) is lying by thy corpse; she has always observed the duties of a faithful wife; grant her your permission to abide in this world, and relinquish your wealth to your descendants."‡ A younger brother of the dead, or a disciple, or a

* माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसाऽऽदित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः। प्रणुवोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट। पिबतूदकं तृणान्यत्तु। ओमुत्सृजत॥

† Aratni extending from the thumb to the tip of the index finger.

‡ इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतं। विश्वं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणञ्चेह धेहि॥

servant, should then proceed to the pyre, hold the left hand of the woman, and ask her to come away, saying, "Rise up, woman, thou liest by the side of the lifeless; come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand and is willing to marry thee."* In a subsequent mantra, she is to be asked to bring away the bit of gold above alluded to, from the hand of the corpse. The words for the purpose are—"For the promotion of thy wealth, and glory as a Bráhman woman, and beauty and power, take the gold from the hand of the dead, (and abide) in this (region); we (shall dwell) here well-served and prospering, and overcoming all presumptuous assailants."† The scholiast of Ás'valáyana says the remover of the widow, and not the widow, herself should take the gold,

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* उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकमितासुमेतमुपशेष एहि। हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्त्वमेतत्पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसम्बभूव॥

हे 'नारि' त्वं 'इतासुं' गतप्राणं, 'एतं' पतिं 'उपशेषे' उपेत्य शयनं करोषि, 'उदीर्ष्व' अस्मात्पतिसमीपादुत्तिष्ठ। 'जीवलोकमभि' जीवन्तं प्राणिसमूहमभिलक्ष्य, 'एहि' आगच्छ। 'त्वं', 'हस्तग्राभस्य' पाणिग्राहवतः 'दिधिषोः' पुनर्विवाहेच्छोः पत्युः', 'एतत्', 'जनित्वं' जायात्वं 'अभिसम्बभूव' आभिमुख्येन सम्यक् प्राप्नुहि॥

The Ṛig Vedic reading of this verse has been given on p. 123.

† सुवर्णं हस्तादाददाना मृतस्य श्रियै ब्रह्मणे तेजसे बलाय। अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुशेवा विश्वाः स्पृधो अभिमातीर्जयेम।

This verse does not occur in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛig Veda, but the counterpart of it, in connexion with the bow, occurs with a different reading, as shown on page 124. The difference, however, is slight.

Dr. Max Müller renders the last as follows: "I take the bow from the hand of the dead, to be, to us, help, glory, and strength. Thou art there, we are still here, with our brave sons; may we conquer all enemies that attack us." Dr. Wilson's version is slightly different in words, but is in substance the same. "Taking his bow from the hand of the dead that it may be to us for help, for strength, for fame, (I say) here verily art thou, and here are we: accompanied by our valiant descendants may we overcome all arrogant adversaries."—*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, XVI, p. 202.

and that in the event of his being a slave, this and the two preceding mantras should be repeated by the chief mourner, and Wilson and Max Müller take it in the same sense; but Sáyaṇa's comment is opposed to this interpretation.* The words to be addressed to a Kshatríya or a Vais'ya woman, are the same, the words *bow* and *jewel* being respectively substituted for *gold*, and *Kshatríya* and *Vais'ya* respectively for *Bráhmaṇa*. Under any circumstance the removal of the widow and of the articles is completed. The Áraṇyaka contemplates no alternative, and the Sútrakáras are silent on the subject, shewing clearly that when the Áraṇyaka was compiled, the inhuman practice of burning the living wife with her dead husband, had not obtained currency in the country, and as we know from the writings of Greek authors that the Satí rite had formed an important part of the Hindu funeral ceremony three centuries before Christ, and at least four centuries before that the Rámáyaṇa and the Mahábhárata, alluded to it, it may be presumed that our text dates from at least eight centuries before the Christian era. The allusions in the Rámáyaṇa and the Mahábhárata may, possibly, be interpolations, and if so, the Áraṇyaka may be a century or two later, but that it was compiled long before the advent of Alexander in India, and that Baudháyana flourished before Bharadvája and Kátyáyana cannot be questioned.

The gold put in the hand was emblematic of the wealth of the dead, which the living took from him. In the modern ritual seven bits of gold are recommended for the eyes, ears, nostrils and the mouth, bell-metal being substituted when gold is not available. The Greeks put an obolus in the mouth of

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* हे नारी त्वं "श्रियै" सम्पदर्थं, "ब्रह्मणे" ब्राह्मणजात्यर्थं, "तेजसे" कान्त्यर्थं, "बलाय" शरीरबलार्थं, "मृतस्य" पुरुषस्य, "हस्तात्" "सुवर्णं" "आददाना" सती, 'अत्रैव' लोके तिष्ठ। 'वयं' अपि 'इह' लोके, 'सुवीराः' सुखं सेवमानाः सन्तः, 'स्पृधः' अस्माभिः सह स्पर्द्धमानाः, 'विश्वाः' 'अभिमातीः' सर्व्वान् शत्रून् 'जयेम'।

the corpse, and looked upon it as the ferriage (ναῦλον, δανκη) for Charon. Similarly the Chinese place a bit of silver in the mouth of the corpse to enable the traveller to pay the toll to heaven. As the Hindus recognise the existence of a river (Vaitaraṇí) in the way to another sphere, and this has to be crossed with great difficulty, it is possible that the original idea for the placing of the gold in the hand was ferriage, which was subsequently changed to emblematic inheritance.

The sacrificial vessels which the defunct used to employ in his ceremonial rites, are now to be placed on the different parts of his body; the *Agni-hotra-havaní*, filled with butter and curds, on the mouth; the *s'ruva* spoon, broken into two, on the nostrils; two bits of gold or the butter spoon, *(ájyas'ruva)* broken into two, on the eyes; the *prásitra-haraṇa*, broken into two, on the ears; the *kapála* pot, broken into fragments, on the head; a pot-sherd on the forehead; and, the *chamasa* spoon on the head. The mantra for the purpose consists of a prayer to Agni not to injure the *chamasa* spoon.* Ás'valáyana arranges the sacrificial vessels differently; he places the *juhú* on the right hand, the *upabhṛit* on the left hand, the *sphya*, sacrificial knife, on the right side, the *Agnihotra-havaní* on the left side, the *grávna* on the teeth, the *kapálas* on the head, the *dhruvá* on the breast, the *s'ruva* on the nostrils, the *prásitra-haraṇa* on the nostrils, the *chamasa* and the *pátri* on the belly, the *sami* on the genitals, the pestle and mortar on the lower part of the thighs, the *araṇi* on the upper part of the thighs, the *súrpa* on the feet, and other vessels on the body as convenient. He says, further, that the fat of the slaughtered cow should be placed on the head and on the eyes with

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* इममग्ने चमसं मा विजीह्वरः प्रियो देवानामुत सोम्यानां। एष यश्चमसो देवपानस्तस्मिन् देवा अमृता मादयन्तां ॥

"Destroy not, Agni, this spoon; it is dear to the Devas and the performers of the Soma rites. This spoon is the drinking vessel of the Devas; may the immortal Devas therefore make us happy."

the mantra "Agni, &c." and her kidneys on the hands with the mantra "Ati," &c., her heart on the cardiac region, and her flesh and organs on other parts of the body ; and that in the event of the cow being let loose, imitations of her organs made with rice and barley meal, should be placed on the parts mentioned ; the fat being replaced by cakes. The Áraṇyaka says nothing about these offerings, nor recognises any substitute. Possibly Baudháyana and Bharadvája have provided for them ; but I have not the necessary MSS. at hand to ascertain it. The Áraṇyaka, after arranging the sacrificial vessels, gives the mantra for covering the corpse with the raw hide of the cow, which should be entire with head, hair and feet, the hairy side being kept uppermost. The mantra for the purpose is addressed to the hide ; "Cuirass, carefully protect this body from the light of Agni; envelope it with thy thick fat and marrow; holding this impudent Agni, desirous of seeing and consuming it by his vigour, allow him not to go astray."*

Both the early Greeks and the Romans burned the arms of their heroes along with their bodies.

The pile is now ready to be lighted, and a fire should be applied to it with the prayer : "Agni, consume not this body to cinders ; nor give it pain ; nor scatter around its skin or limbs! O Játavedas, when the body is fairly burnt, convey the spirit to its ancestors."† A second prayer to the same divinity is due when the fire is in full blaze, but its purport is not very different. It is followed by an address to the organs of the dead. It says, "May thy organ of vision proceed to the sun ; may thy vital air merge in the atmosphere ; mayest thou proceed, according to thy virtuous deeds, to heaven, or earth, or the region of water, whichever place is beneficial to thee ;

* अग्नेर्वर्म परि गोभिर्व्ययस्व प्रोर्णुष्व मेदसा पीवसा च। नेत् त्वा धृष्णु-र्हरसा जर्हृषाणो दधृग्विधक्ष्यन् पर्यङ्खयातै।

† मैनमग्ने विदहो माऽभिशोचो माऽस्यत्वचं चिक्षिपो मा शरीरं। यदा शृतं करवो जातवेदोऽथेमेनं प्रहिणुतात् पितृभ्यः।

mayest thou there, provided with food, exist in corporeal existence."*

If instead of a cow, a goat is brought with the corpse, it is to be tied with a weak string near the fire, so that it may break its bond and escape. The chief mourner should then offer twelve oblations to the fire with a spoon made of palás'a wood, for which the Áraṇyaka supplies the necessary mantras. Nine prayers next follow, of which the first four are addressed to Agni, the fifth to Yama, the sixth to the messengers of death, and the last three for a good region for the deceased. The one addressed to Yama describes him as having two dogs for warders at his gate. "King Yama, place this spirit under the care of thy two four-eyed dogs, which guard the roads and your mansion, and whom men avoid: keep it in ease, and free from disease."† The dogs are the offspring of Saramá; long-snouted, self-satisfied, and exceedingly powerful; they are the messengers of Yama and roam about in search of men. The last three prayers I shall give entire. "1. Some purify the Soma juice; others worship with clarified butter; others again follow true knowledge *(madhu vidyá)* in quest of felicity; may this spirit attain the same (reward). 2. May the reward of those who fight in the battle-field, and of heroes who sacrifice their lives, and of virtuous men who grant a thousand gifts, await this spirit. 3. May the reward of those who in penance pass a blameless life, and of those who are gone to heaven by their penance, and of those who have performed most rigorous austerities, await this spirit."‡

After this, leaving the funeral pyre to smoulder, the

* सूर्यं ते चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यांश्च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा । अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रतितिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥

† यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षौ नृचक्षसा । ताभ्यां राजन् परिदेह्येनं स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीवञ्च धेहि ॥

‡ सोम एकेभ्यः पवते घृतमेक उपासते । येभ्यो मधु प्रधावति तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात् ॥

chief mourner excavates three trenches to the north of the pyre, and, lining them with pebbles and sand, fills them with water brought in an odd number of jars. The people who followed the procession are then requested to purify themselves by bathing in them; which being done, a yoke is put up with three palás'a branches, stuck in the ground, and tied at the top with a piece of weak string, and they are made to pass under it. The chief mourner passes last, and then, plucking out the yoke, offers a prayer to the sun. Thereupon, the party proceed to the nearest stream, and, without looking at each other, purify themselves by bathing and a prayer to Prajápati. Ás'valáyana says nothing of the three trenches, but takes the people at once to the river to bathe, where "they immerse themselves, and on rising throw a handful of water into the air while they pronounce the name of the deceased, and that of his family. They then get out of the water, put on dry clothes, and after once wringing those that they had on before, they spread them out towards the north, and sit down there themselves till the stars are seen. Then the young ones walk first, and the old ones last, and when they arrive at their home, they touch, by way of purifying themselves, 'the stone, the fire, cow-dung, grain, (tila seed,) oil and water before they step in.'* This part of the ceremony and the mourning which follows, have been described by Manu, Yájṇavalkya and others, and need not be further noticed. The Áraṇyaka is entirely silent on the subject.

For the ceremony of burial, the first operation is, the collection of the half-burnt bones. This should be done accord-

ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शूरासो ये तनुत्यजः । ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्तांश्चिदे-वापि गच्छतात् ॥

तपसा ये अनाधृष्यास्तपसा ये सुवर्गताः । तपो ये चक्रिरे महत् तांश्चि-देवापि गच्छतात् ॥

* Journal Royal As. Soc., XVI, 213.

ing to Ás'valáyana on the 11th, 13th or 15th day of the wane; Baudhayána enjoins the 3rd, 5th or 7th from the day of cremation. The dates *tritiyá*, *panchamí*, and *saptamí* are given in the feminine gender in the text, and cannot imply day, as in ordinary acceptance they indicate the age of the moon. As the ceremonies, however, of the tenth day are given in a subsequent part of the work, and the *Prayoga* noticed above names days, it is probable, that the morning of the 3rd, 5th or 7th day is meant, the ellipse in the sútra being supplied by the word *tithí* in the sense of a day. The first act is to sprinkle milk and water on the cinders, and to strike on the heap with an udumbara staff to separate the bones.* This is done while repeating five mantras. The cinders are then collected and thrown towards the south side, leaving the bones behind. Three oblations are next offered to Agni with a *s'ruva* spoon. Thereupon the senior wife is to come forward, and, with two bits of red and blue strings to which a stone is tied, to draw out the bones with her left hand, saying, "Arise hence, and assume a (new) shape. Leave none of your members or your body behind. Repair to whichever place you wish; may Savitá establish you there. This is one of your bones, be joined with the third (other bones) in glory; having joined all the bones be handsome in person; be beloved of the gods in a noble place."† The bones should then be washed and deposited in an urn, or tied up in a piece of black antelope skin. The urn or bundle is then to be hung from the branch of a sami or palás'a tree. Should the

* Among the Greeks the pyre was, as soon as the body was burnt, extinguished with wine. The ashes were, after having been sprinkled with wine and oil, preserved in urns. The Romans used wine for extinguishing the fire, and milk and wine for sprinkling over the remains which were afterwards put into an urn.

† उत्तिष्ठाऽतस्तनुवं सम्भरस्व मेह गात्रमवहा मा शरीरं। यत्र भूम्यै वृणसे तत्र गच्छ तत्र त्वा देवः सविता दधातु। इदन्त एकम्पर ऊत एकं तृतीयेन ज्योतिषा सम्विशस्व। संवेशनस्तनुवै चारुरेधि प्रियो देवानां परमे सधस्थे॥

bones belong to a person who had performed a Soma sacrifice, they should be burnt again; otherwise they should be buried. For the latter purpose, an urn is absolutely necessary, and after placing the bones into it, it should be filled up with curds mixed with honey, and then covered over with grass. Ás'valáyana recommends an urn with a spout for females, and one without it for males. Two mantras are given, one for pouring the mixture, and the other to be addressed to its droppings.

The material used for making the urn is nowhere mentioned, but from ancient remains it is evident that, for the bulk of the people, and in early times, terra cotta was the material used, but for kings and other men of consequence soapstone, marble, gold and silver were freely used, as was the case among the Buddhists, as also among the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Subsequently a proper place having been selected, a funeral procession should proceed to it in the morning, and the chief mourner should begin the operations of the day by sweeping the spot with a piece of leather, or a broom of palás'a or sami wood. Then, yoking a pair of bullocks to a plough, he should dig six furrows running from east to west, and, saluting them with a mantra, deposit the urn in the central furrow. The bullocks should now be let loose by the south side, and water sprinkled over the place with an udumbara branch, or from a jar. The covering of the urn is then removed, some aromatic herbs, *sarvaushadhi*, are put into the urn, and the urn is subsequently closed with pebbles and sand; each of the operations being performed while repeating an appropriate mantra. A mantra should, likewise, be pronounced for every one of the operations which follow, and these include, 1st, the putting of bricks around the urn; 2nd, the throwing thereon some sesamum seed and fried barley; 3rd, placing some butter on an unbaked plate on the south side;

4th, spreading there some darbha grass ; 5th, surrounding the tumulus with a palisade of palás'a branches ; and 6th, crowning the whole by sticking on the top a flowering head of the *nala* reed—*Arundo karka.* The operator then anoints his body with old ghi, and, without looking at the urn, places it on the spread grass, invokes the manes, wipes the urn with a bit of old rag, sprinkles some water with an udumbara branch, or from a jar, having covered his own person with an old cloth, and then buries the urn with bricks laid over it.

Some charu rice is then cooked, sanctified by a mantra, and while the chief mourner repeats five others, is put on the five sides of the urn. Sesamum seed and barley are now scattered around, some herbs put on the mound, and more bricks added. Water should subsequently be sprinkled on the place, a prayer should be addressed to the gods, a branch of the varuṇa tree and a lot of brick-bats, a 'sami branch and some barley, should be placed on the mound, and the dead be invoked to translate himself to whichever region he likes. "Go to the earth, go to the void above, go to the sky, go to the quarters, go to heaven ; go, go to heaven, go to the quarters, go to the sky, go to the void above, go to the earth, or go to the waters, wherever, embodied, thou canst live with the good and in peace."*

A few holes being now dug round the mound, the ceremony of burial is completed. The operations, it will be seen, though oft-repeated and tedious, are of the simplest kind possible ; the prayers are throughout addressed for the sensuous enjoyment and ease of the dead, and nowhere is any indication given of a desire for spiritual benefit, liberation from the wheel of transmigration, salvation, or beatitude. Even sin is lightly looked upon, and the prayer for redemp-

* पृथिवीं गच्छान्तरिक्षं गच्छ दिवं गच्छ दिशो गच्छ सुवर्गच्छ सुवर्गच्छ दिशो गच्छ दिवं गच्छान्तरिक्षं गच्छ पृथिवीं गच्छापो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रतितिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥

tion from it, is slight and casual. The whole ceremony is of the most primitive type, and bespeaks an epoch of remote antiquity.

The last ceremony I have to notice is called *S'ántikarma*, or rites for the well-being of the living. It should be performed on the morning following the ninth night after death, *i. e.*, on the tenth day. This is either an addition to, or a substitute for, the shaving and paring of nails and bathing, which are enjoined by mediæval and modern Smṛitikáras and are still current. Ás'valáyana recommends that this should be performed on the burning-ground on the 15th of the wane, *i. e.*, on the day of the new moon. But our text fixes the day, and leaves it optional with the mourners to select any place out of a town whether it be a burning ground or not, that may be convenient. The relatives by blood, both male and female, having assembled, a fire should be lighted, and they should be requested to sit down on a bullock-hide of a red colour spread on the ground, with its neck-side facing the east, and its hairs directed towards the north. The request should be made in the following words: "Ascend on this life-giving (skin), as you wish to live to a decrepit old age. According to your seniority attempt carefully to abide on it. May the well-born and well-adorned fire of this ceremony bestow long life on you. Even as days follow days, and seasons are attached to seasons—even as the young forsake not their elders—may Dhátá so prolong the life of these (people) according to their age."*

The assembly being thereupon seated, the chief mourner offers four oblations to the fire with a spoon made of varuṇa wood. The relatives then rise up, and placing themselves on

* आरोहतायुर्जरसं गृणाना अनुपूर्वं यतमाना यतिष्ट। इह त्वष्टा सुजनिमा सुरत्नो दीर्घमायुः करतु जीवसे वः॥ Compare v. 6 p. 123.

यथाऽहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्ति यथर्त्तव ऋतुभिर्यन्ति क्लृप्ताः। यथा न पूर्वमपरो जहात्येवा धातरायूंषि कल्पयैषां॥ Compare v. 5 p. 123.

the north of the fire, and facing the east, recite a mantra, while touching a red bull. The women are then requested to put on collyrium with these words—"Let these women, who are not widowed, who have good husbands, apply the collyrious butter to their eyes; without tears, without disease, worthy of every attention, let these wives enter the house first."* The collyrium should be made of a substance called *traikakuda*, which is brought from the Trikakut or triple-humped peak of the Himálaya, meaning evidently the sulphuret of antimony or surmá of the Indian bazars. It should be applied with the three central unexpanded leaves of the kus'a grass, which are thin, pliant, and pointed, like a camel hair brush, and answer the purpose better than the iron or stone style or bodkin which up-country women now use. The leaves being afterwards thrown away on a bundle of that grass, while repeating a mantra, the party proceed towards the east, leading the bull and saying: "These men, forsaking the dead, are returning. This day we invoke the gods for our good, for success over enemies, and for our merriment. We proceed eastward, having well sustained long lives."†

The last of the party, who is the chief mourner, should then recite another mantra, and with a sami branch efface the footmarks of the bull that precedes the party. On the departure of the last man, the Adhvaryu should place a circle of stones behind him as a wall to prevent death overtaking those that have gone forward, praying—"I place this circle (of stones) for the living; may we and others not go beyond it in

* इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा सम्मृशन्तां । अनश्रवो अनमीवाः सुशेवा आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥

† इमे जीवा वि मृतैराववर्त्तन्नभूद्भद्रा देवहूतिर्नो अद्य । प्राञ्चोऽगामा नृतये हसाय द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः ॥ Compare v. 7, p. 123.

This verse, in the original, occurs a little before the one about the application of the collyrium. I have displaced it for the sake of consistency.

mid-life ; may we all live a hundred autumns, driving death away by this hill."* The party then repair to the house of the chief mourner and feast on kid and barley, cooked for the purpose. Separate mantras are given for the eating of the two articles. The meal will remind the classical reader of the Roman *feriæ novendiales* which took place on the 9th day after burial or cremation. The Greeks held the feast immediately after the cremation, and at that the survivors extolled the worth of the deceased *(nam mentiri nefas habebatur).* The Egyptians had the eloge before the burial.

The most important of all the mantras above quoted is the one which is intended as a direction to women to put on collyrium. It was first translated by Colebrooke, in 1795, as "the only Vaidik authority for the rite of Satí." Before him the compiler of the twenty-eight Tattvas had quoted it for the same purpose, and no doubt thousands over thousands of deluded women, in the moment of their greatest grief, have been sent to the blazing pyre with this miserable passport to heaven. Dr. Wilson was the first to suspect, in 1856, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XVI, pp. 201f), that "it had reference to some procession, one possibly accompanying the corpse, but had nothing whatever to do with consigning live females to the fire ;" and, for a guess, it was as close as it well could be. The late Sir Rájá Rádhákánta Deva wrote a reply to this paper in 1858, and in 1867, in a foot-note about three times larger than the paper to which it is attached, a writer, in the same periodical, (Vol. II, N. S., pp. 184-191,) entered into an elaborate, verbal and punctilious criticism, but the ceremony for which the stanza was intended, or to which it was applied, was left undetermined. In Rájá Rádhákánta's letter to

* इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मा नोऽनुगादपरो अर्थमेतं । शतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरूचीरन्तर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेन ॥

Dr. Wilson, a quotation was given from the Sútras of Bharadvája which gave the real clue to it, but none noticed it at the time. The true bearing is now made manifest, for, I belive, few will venture to question the authority of Baudháyana in such a matter. His words are—*athaitáh patnayo ayane sarpishá sammrisanti*: "Now these women smear their eyes with butter." Bharadvája says, *stríṇám aṇjalishu sampátánavanayatimánárírīti*: "For placing of the sampáta in the hands of the women the mantra *Imá nárih*, &c." According to Ás'valáyana, the verse should be repeated by the chief mourner when looking at the women after they have applied the collyrium: *imá náríravidhaváh supatniri-tyanjáná íksheta.* This difference is due evidently to the authors belonging to different sákhás. Anyhow, it is abundantly clear that the verse was not intended to recommend self-immolation, but to be addressed to female mourners, wives of kinsmen, having their husbands living, not the widow, to put on collyrium, or to look at them after the operation. The *Prayogakára* says, *tatah sampátapátramádáya sabhatrikastríṇám aṇjalíshu sampátam avanayati*, "then taking the sampátapátra he places it on the hands of the women who have husbands, with the mantra *imáh, &c.*"

The reading of the stanza appears differently in different recensions. According to Raghunandana, as given in the Serampur edition of his works, and in my MSS. it is as follows:—

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।
अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जलयोनिमग्ने ॥

Colebrooke's version, apparently taken down from hearsay, has—

इमा नारीर् अविधवाः सुपत्नीर् अञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविसन्तु विभावसुं
अनश्रवोनारिराः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जलयोनिम् अग्ने ।

Professor Wilson's reading, quoted from the tenth Maṇ-

dala of the Rig Veda, differs materially from these: as given on page 124, it runs thus:

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु
अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्नारोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ।

Dr. Max Müller accepts this reading, correcting only *suratnárohantu* into *suratná á rohantu.* Our text, as quoted on page 146, and founded upon six manuscripts and the concurrent testimony of the Sútrakáras, differs in one important particular. It replaces the last word of the first line, *saṅvis'antu*, usually translated "let them enter," by *sammṛis'antam*, "let them smear." It changes also *suratná* "well ornamented," into *sus'evá* "well-served" or worthy of every attention.

With such differences in the text, it is not to be wondered at that the English renderings which have been, from time to time, published, should be markedly different. Colebrooke was the first to take the stanza in hand, and he translated it into—"Om. Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to fire. Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, well adorned with gems, let them pass into fire, whose original is water."* Ward, Macnaughten, Rámamohana Ráya and others have adopted this reading, and given translations more or less different from each other. But as the reading itself has not yet been traced to any authentic MSS. of the Vedas, it may be dismissed without further notice.

Wilson's translation runs thus: "May these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers enter with unguents and clarified butter: without tears without sorrow, let them first go up into the dwelling."† Max Müller's rendering is nearly the same. He writes—

* As. Researches. IV, p. 213. † Journal R. As. Soc., XVI, p. 202.

"Es treten ein die Frau'n, mit Oel und butter,
Nicht Witwen sie, nein, stolz auf edle Männer.
Die Mütter gehn zuerst hinauf zur Stätte,
In schönem Schmuck und ohne Leid und Thränen.*

The writer of the foot-note above alluded to, adopts Max Müller's reading, but attempts to improve upon his translation by the following:—"Let these women, unwidowed, having good husbands, *and* with anointing butter *on their eyes*, enter *their houses.* Let the mothers, untearful, unmiserable, possessed of excellent wealth, go up to the house first." He adds "I have here followed Sáyaṇa, save in not rendering आ रोहन्तु by "approach," आगच्छन्तु. What is meant by योनि. Sáyaṇa's "house," is not obvious.†

The most material error in the above translations is due to Sáyaṇa. That great commentator, when he took up the Ṛig Veda, depended more upon the lexicographic meaning of words than upon the relation of the mantras to the ceremonials of the Yajúr Veda, and hence many discrepancies are to be met with between his interpretations and those of the ancient Sútrakáras, and sometimes in his own interpretations of the same verse in the Ṛig, the Yajúr and the Sáma Vedas. Nowhere is this more prominently apparent than in his commentry on the stanza under notice, in the Ṛig and the Yajúr Vedas. When he met with it in the former, he wrote:

इमा नारीरिति। अविधवाः धवः पतिः अविगतपतिकाः जीवद्भर्तृका इत्यर्थः। सपत्नीः शोभनपतिकाः इमा नारीः नार्य्य आञ्जनेन सर्व्वतोऽञ्जन-साधनेन सर्पिषा घृतेन आक्तनेत्राः सत्यः संविशन्तु स्वगृहान् प्रविशन्तु स्व-गृहान् प्रविशन्तु तथा अनश्रवः अश्रुवर्ज्जिताः अरुदत्यः अनमीवाः अमीवा रोगस्तद्वर्ज्जिता मानसदुःखवर्ज्जिता इत्यर्थः। सुरत्नाः शोभनधनसहिताः। जनयः जनयन्त्यपत्यमिति जनयो भार्य्याः ता अग्रे सर्व्वेषां प्रथमत एव योनिं गृहं। आरोहन्तु आगच्छन्तु। देवरादिकः प्रेतपत्नीमुदीर्ष्व नारीत्य-नया भर्तृसकाशादुत्थापयेत् सूत्रितञ्च ॥

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* Zeitschrift, Band, IX, p. XXV.

† Journal R. As. Soc., N. S., Vol. III, p. 185.

Subsequently, with the light of Baudháyana, Bharadvája and Hiranyakes'í he perceived the true bearing of the stanza, and then interpreted it thus:—

'इमा नारीः' एतास्त्रियः, 'अविधवाः' वैधव्यरहिताः, 'सुपत्नीः' शोभनपतियुक्ताः सत्यः, 'आञ्जनेन' अञ्जनहेतुना, 'सर्पिषा', 'सम्मृशन्तां' चक्षुषी संस्पृशन्तु। 'अनश्रवः' अश्रुरहिताः, 'अनमीवाः' रोगरहिताः, 'सुशेवाः' सुष्ठु सेवितुं योग्याः, 'जनयः' जायाः, 'अग्रे' इतः परं, 'योनिं' स्वस्थानं, 'आरोहन्तु' प्राप्नुवन्तु॥

That the last is the most consistent rendering may be accepted without hesitation.

The meaning of the stanza, word for word, would be *imáh* "these," *náríh*, irregular plural nominative of *nárí*, "women," alluding to the ladies of the kinsmen who have assembled at the ceremony; the regular form is *náryah*. The women have for predicates, *avidhaváh* "not widows," or "unwidowed" and *supatní*, "having good husbands." *(supati)*. Those who apply the stanza to concremation explain the first word by "not to be widowed," a meaning which it cannot be made to bear, there being neither any rule nor analogy to support it. The next word, *ánjanena*, is an adjective qualifying *sarpishá*, both in the instrumental case, meaning "with collyrious butter." The verb necessary for these elements should be one which means applying or smearing, and this is what we have in *sammris'antám*, "let smear," from the root *mris'* "to smear." The Rig Vedic reading *sañvis'antu*, from the root *vis'* "to enter," can have no relation to the instrumental, except as entering with the butter applied to the eye, in which case the ordinary plan would be to convert the two words in the instrumental case into one epithet, serving as an adjective to the nominative, women.

It is, therefore, probable that the root *vis'* had, in ancient times, the meaning of decorating or putting on, as we have now the same root used to indicate "dressing," *ves'a* whence *ves'yá* "a woman who lives by her dress,— a harlot." Yáska

adopts this meaning when he includes *ves'-ati* among the verbs for ornamentation, *kántikarma*. Sáyana, not perceiving this when he commented on the Ṛig Veda, took the word in its ordinary signification, and so interpreted the stanza as to make the women first enter their own houses—*sagrihán privis'-antu*, and subsequently the house '*joni*,' of the chief mourner; in so doing he had to supply what he supposed was an ellipse, and thereby entirely to mislead his readers. The new reading of the word in the Áranyaka now leaves no doubt on the subject.

The words of the second line *anas'raváh*, "tearless," *anamiváh*, "diseaseless," or free from pain either of body or mind, (it has been loosely rendered in one of the above quoations by "not miserable,") *sus'eváh* "well served," all refer to, and are epithets of, *janayah* "wives," which follows. In the Ṛig Veda the last epithet is changed to *suratnáh* "well tornamented" without in any way altering the construction The verb is *árohantu*, "let ascend" or "proceed," and agrees with the nominative *janayah*, "wives." The dative is *jonim*, "to house" in the singular, the house of the chief mourner, where they are to partake of a feast, and not that of the females. The last word *agre*, "first or foremost," is an adverb qualifying the verb *árohantu*, the female mourners preceding the men.

The words *anjanena sarpishá* have confounded all the European translators. Wilson has rendered them into "unguents and butter," and Max Müller into "oel und butter." One has dropt the word *ánjanena* and used only "butter;" he is particular in reminding his readers that he has followed Sáyana, but his assurance must be received with some reservation, for the scholiast neither omits the firt word nor is remiss in explaining it; his words are *anjana-sádhanena sarápishá* "with butter for making collyrium" or *anjanahetuná sarpishá* "with butter the source of collyrium," that is, as I

have rendered, "with collyrious butter," or collyrium made of butter, the other element of the unguent being, as stated in a subsequent mantra, a mineral of the name of *traikakuda*, which I guess to be sulphuret of antimony or *surmá.* The object of the mantra is to prohibit the use of the ordinary collyrium, which is differently made. The usual practice to this day is to smear a little butter or oil in the bowl of a spoon, and to hold it over an oil lamp, so that a quantity of lamp-black may be deposited on it, and when the two are mixed together with the fingers, they constitute the collyrium. The sulphuret is still used in the North-West Provinces.

The second mantra to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is the one with which a brother, student, or servant of the deceased is to remove the widow from the pyre; inasmuch as it clearly shows that the widow at the time was not burnt, but taken to abide in the land of the living, and to marry, if she liked. That the removal was positive and final, and not nominal, is evident from the rules of the Sútrakáras. Baudháyana says, "He who approaches her should, holding her by the left hand, take her up:" *tañ pratigatah savye páṇávabhipádyotthápayati.* This is done after obtaining the permission of the deceased by a formal mantra, (*ante* p. 135), and on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the cremation, the widow, or the eldest widow, if there should happen to be more than one, is expected to go to the burning ground, and to collect the bones of the dead with her left hand. Ás'valayana is equally precise, and adds that, should the widow be removed by an old servant, the chief mourner should repeat the mantra (*Karttá vrishale japet.* Sútra, 4, 219). The author of the *Prayoga*, it is true, takes this direction to apply to pregnant women only who should not be burnt alive, but his authority in such a case is of little value, when opposed to that of the oldest Sútrakáras, and the evident purport of the mantra. It may be also observed that the widow is to take

away the gold, bow and jewel, which are put into the hands of the Bráhman, Kshatríya and Vaísya dead, respectively—with which, according to a subsequent mantra, she is to live in wealth, splendour and glory in the society of the remover, in this world, and this she could not do, if she were immolated.

The mantra, as given in our text, (*ante* page 136), is slightly different from the stanza in the Ṛig Veda, (*ante* p. 124.), and quoted by Wilson and Max Müller in the papers above alluded to; the words *ítás'u* and *abhisamvabhúva* of our text, being replaced by *gatásu* and *abhisamvabhútha*. The words, however, are synonymous, and therefore the difference is of no moment. The second word, a verb, is, in the Ṛig Veda, in the third person, dual irregular, having for its nominative *tvañ* "thou," understood, and in our text it is in the third person singular, both may therefore be taken as Vedic peculiarities.

The most important word in the mantra is *didhishu*, which Sáyaṇa, when commenting on the Ṛig Veda, took to imply impregnation *didhishoh garbhasya nidhátoh.* In the Áraṇyaka he accepts it in its ordinary, well-established dictionary meaning of a man "who marries a widow," or "the second husband of a woman twice married," as Wilson gives it. The result is a material difference in the meaning. The version given by Wilson is as follows:—"Rise up, woman, come to the world of living beings, thou sleepest nigh unto the lifeless. Come: thou hast been associated with maternity through the husband by whom thy hand was formerly taken."* Max Müller's reading is closely similar. He writes—

"Steh auf, o Weib! Komm zu der Welt des Lebens!
Du schläfst bei einem Todten—Komm hernieder!
Du bist genug jetzt Gattin ihm gewesen,
Ihm, der Dich wählte und zur Mutter machte.†"

In my version, following Sáyaṇa's second and more re-

* Journal R. As. Soc., XVI., p. 202. † Zeitschrift, IX., p. vi.

cent commentary, I take the word *hastagrábhasya* "of him who holds thy hand," and the other predicates in the present tense, and the *didhishu* in its crude sense, and apply them to the party who holds the widow's hand while lying on the pyre. This appears the most consistent and in keeping with the whole ceremony, and therefore preferable to referring them to the dead. The only objection to this reading is to be found in the fact that the verb is in the past perfect tense, but, seeing that Páṇini has laid down more than one special rule for the use of the past for the imperative *(Liñarthe let* 2, 4, 7, &c.,) and Sáyaṇa has accepted the same, it is perfectly immaterial. In a pamphlet on the impropriety of widow marriage, lately published by some of the Professors of the Benares Sanskrit College, the word *jívalokam* "the world of living beings" has been rendered by *martyalokát anyam*, "other than the region of mortals," but such a meaning is not admissible either by any positive rule, or by analogy. Sáyaṇa renders it, in one place, by—"the region of the living sons and grandsons," *jívánám putrapautrádínám lokam*, and in another, by "aiming at the region of the living creatures," *jívantam práṇisamúhamabhilakshya.* Other interpretations of the Professors are equally open to question, but it is not necessary to notice them. That the re-marriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom can be easily established by a variety of proofs and arguments; the very fact of the Sanskrit language having, from ancient times, such words as *didhishu*, "a man that has married a widow," *parapúrvá* "a woman that has taken a second husband," *paunarbhava*, "a son of a woman by her second husband," are enough to establish it; but it would be foreign to the subject of this paper to enter into it here.

APPENDIX.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MYTH ABOUT KERBEROS.

THE earliest notice of dogs as warders at the entrance of Hades occurs in the Sañhitá of the Ṛig Veda. Yama, the regent of that region, it is said, had two canine attendants, each having four eyes, and these brought the dead from the earth to the nether regions. The passages in which they are mentioned are short, and sometimes obscure, but their purport is clear enough. The most important of those passages runs thus: "(O Agni) hasten on by an auspicious path, avoiding the two, four-eyed, brindled dogs, the offspring of Saramá. Then approach the bountiful Pitṛis who dwell in festivity and with Yama. (O Yama) place the spirit under the care of thy two four-eyed dogs which guard the roads and thy mansion, and whom men avoid; and keep it in ease and free from disease. The two brown messengers of Yama, broad of nostrils, delighting in other's life, and of great power, wander about among men. May they give us again the auspicious breath of life, that we may again behold the sun," (R. V. X., XV. v.v. 10—12). These are quoted in the Yajur Veda, and their counterparts occur in the Atharva Veda. The later literature of the Hindus casually, but very obscurely, refer to them. Thus in the Mahábhárata, Yudhisṭhira, in his way to heaven, is said to have been lead by a dog. These dogs are either called *S'vánau* "two dogs," or *Sárameyau*, "the two sons of Saramá," the Dawn.

In Greek mythology the story of the dogs occurs repeatedly, and is well-known to classic scholars; but for purposes of comparison it is necessary that a few of its salient points

should be noticed here. The oldest notice of a dog as the warder of Hades is to be found in the Iliad of Homer where Hérāklés refers to his "Haling out hateful Pluto's dog from darksome Erebos."

ἐξ Ἐρέβευς ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἀίδαο. (θ, 368.)

In the Odyssey (XI., 626) the subject is referred to when Héraklés tells Odysseus that his sufferings are but a reflection of the toils which Héraklés himself had undergone.

"Of all which one was, to descend this strand
And hale the dog from thence. He could not think
An act that danger could make deeper sink,
And yet this depth I drew, and fetch'd as high,
As this was low, the dog."—*(Chapman's translation.)*

In neither place the name of the dog is given; but Hesiod (III, II) calls him Kerberos, and assigns him fifty heads. Apollodoros, Euripides and Virgil reduce the number of heads to three; while some poets prefer to call the animal "many-headed" or "hundred headed" (Horat., *Carm.* II, 13. 34. Tzetz. Lycoph. VI, 78. Seinec. Herc. fur. 784). Apollodoros says that the tail of this animal was formed by a serpent, and the mane by a number of snakes of various kinds. It was begotten by Typhon and Echidna. Hesiod describes another dog of the same parentage, and assigns him to Geryones (293), Thus the Greeks had two dogs, the counterparts of the Vedic Sárameyau. Orthros was the shepherd's dog which Héraklés destroyed, and was frightful enough to be reckoned a monster whose destruction would reflect credit on the great hero: the feat represents his eighth labour. This dog is the counterpart of the Vṛitra of the Vedic legend. He did not, however, attain to any distinction, and was soon forgotten. Kerberos on the other hand, played a prominent part in Hellenic mythology. As the three-headed monster watching the gate of Hades, he was very much dreaded, and as a dog, like every other dog, was detested by the Greeks.

The belief was that he did no harm to those who entered the mansion of Pluto, but tore up those who attempted to escape from it. This is, however, not in keeping with the legend which says that he growled fiercely when Orpheos was entering the portals of Hades, and had to be lulled by the enchanting music of that gifted harper. One of the greatest feats of Hêraklês was the dragging out of the monster from his nook, and this could not be effected without the assistance of such divine personages as Athênê and Hermês.

The three heads of the animal were not peculiarly its own, for Hermês had the same number of heads, whence his name 'Trikephalos,' and so had Hekatê 'triformes.' According to Bryant the meaning of Kerberos is darkness (ερεβος)—the darkness of Hades, or of night, the Sanskrit equivalent being *S'arvara* or *Sambara*, night slain by Indra.

In Norse legends—as in Baldur's Dream in the elder Edda—the animal is described as "spotted with blood on his front and chest."

In the Vendidad it finds a prominent place; nor was it unknown among some of the Turanian and Semitic nations.

The belief in it turns up, curiously enough, among the Algonquin tribes of the North American Indians, who say that at the further approach of the snake bridge across the river of the dead there is a warder in the form of a great dog.*

Local colouring and minor details apart, the myth is the same everywhere, and its wide dispersion bespeaks its extreme antiquity.

But what it means has not yet been satisfactorily settled. According to some, Kerberos is a symbol of all-devouring time, and the three mouths of the animal represent the present, the past, and the future. Milton accepted it in the sense of man's conscience, which preyed within him for his past misdeeds. Others believed it to be the symbol of earth,

* Tanner's Narrative, p. 290; Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, III., 233.

or of the human passions, the victory of Hérаklés denoting the conquest which he achieved over his passions. Bryant takes Kerberos to be the name of a place—and it signified the temple of the sun, deriving it from *Kir-abor*, "the place of light." The temple was also called *Tor-caph-el*, which it is alleged changed to Trikephelos.

The latest theory is that it is an offshoot of the far-reaching solar myth which peopled the eastern and the western heavens with such an endless variety of gods and goddesses. According to this theory, the gloom of the morning and the evening represents the two dogs.* The learning, ingenuity and tact with which this theory has been worked out leaves little to be desired. Philological evidence on the subject is overwhelming, and the coincidences are most remarkable. And yet the enquiry does not seem to be complete. The myth of Kerberos may be due to Saramá= Echidna, the prolific mother of so many romantic stories. But the question remains, why was the story elaborated ? and what gave occasion to its repulsive character? The dawn is justly associated with everything that is charming and full of life ; why should it be brought into contact with death and destruction? Divested of its mythological surroundings, the substance of the story is made up of the presence of dogs at the time of transition from life to eternity ; this is ill explained by the melting of the gloom of night by the appearance of dawn. The dog is made the son of Dawn, or darkness proceeding from light, and not light proceeding from darkness. Solar influence, moreover, always typifies exuberant vivification, and not death. It is by itself quite inexplicable why the glorious and resplendent Dawn should bring forth two ugly puppies. If we take man's life to be the counterpart of the life of the sun, in dawning beauty, in midday glory, in evening death, and the myth of the sunset

* (Max Müller, 'Science of Language,' Second Series, p. 478).

to represent the close of life, the dogs could scarcely be called the sons of Dawn, for they would come with the gloaming, and not with the rising sun. It may be said that the word Úshá = Dawn is used for all the three stages of the sun's course, and the succession of the night to the resplendence of the setting sun is what is meant by the affiliation; but neither Saramá, nor Hermés, nor Echidna, is associated with the gloaming. I am disposed to think, therefore, that the solar theory is not by itself sufficient to solve the question. There was something else—something gross and material—in the life of the ancient Aryans which gave rise to the story, and which was subsequently associated with the current solar mythology. And this something I fancy was connected with the funeral rites of the time.

In the most primitive state of human society the simplest and most convenient mode of disposing of the dead was to fling it into the nearest jungle or wild place, either to rot there, or to be eaten up by wild animals. Carrion birds, jackals, foxes and dogs were the animals which were attracted by such castings, and dogs, which had been domesticated at a very early age, were necessarily associated with the disposal of the dead. In this plan of funeral the element of chance predominated, for it was quite uncertain when the destruction would be completed by stray animals. To obviate this uncertainty, the most primitive form of funeral was, it would seem, at one time so far modified as to facilitate the consumption of the dead in a short time by enticing wild dogs, or employing domestic dogs, for the purpose. Such an expedient would not be by any means extraordinary. In the present day the Pársís carry vultures to such places where there is none, in order that they may be ready at hand to consume the dead in their Towers of Silence. Such enticement, or employment of dogs, often repeated would consolidate into a tribal or national custom, and the cutting up of

the corpse to facilitate rapid consumption would be an innovation that would be easily introduced.

That such a horrible form of funeral did obtain, and still obtains, in some places is unquestionable. According to Herodotus (Lib. I.) "the body of a male Persian is never buried until it has been torn either by a dog, or a bird of prey. That the Magi have this custom is beyond a doubt, for they practice it without any concealment." (Rawlinson's Herodotus, I., S. 140). We have the authority of Strabo (Lib. XV.) to show that the practice of exposing corpses to be devoured by dogs was current among the Sogdians and the Bactrians, who on this account named their dogs "buriers." Cicero noticed the same among the Hyrcanians. He says—"In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes; optimates, domesticos. Nobile autem genus canum illud scimus esse. Sed pro suâ quisque facultate parat, a cuibus lanietur: eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam." (Quart. Tuscul, Lib. I., 45.) The same custom also obtained among the Parthians, and Justin says "Sepultura vulgò aut avium aut canum laniatus est." (Lib. XLI., cap. 3). Prejvalsky has seen it among the Northern Mongolians, where "the dead bodies, instead of being interred, are flung to the dogs and birds of prey. An awful impression is pruduced on the mind by such a place as this, littered with heaps of bones, through which packs of dogs prowl like ghosts to seek their daily repast of human flesh." (Mongolia, translated by E. D. Morgan, I., p. 14.) Horace della Penna, a Capuchin friar, found at Lhassa, in 1719, the pratice of cutting up corpses to be given to dogs to be very common, and Abbe Huc found it among the Tibetans only a few years ago. At the last named place M. Huc noticed four different forms of sepulture, of which he says, "la quatrième, qui est la plus flatteuse de toutes, consiste à couper les cadavres par morceau et à les faire manger aux chiens. Cette dernière methode est la plus courue." A reminiscence

of this practice is still extant among the Pársís. Their funeral ritual requires that when a corpse is brought to the Dakhmá, or the place where it is to be given up to vultures, it should be first exhibited to one or more dogs, which, I noticed at Bombay, are kept there for the purpose. This ceremonial is called *Sagdid*, and is strictly observed, as it is enjoined in their scriptures. (Vendidad Farg. VII., v. 3.) That this is a relic of the former detestable custom noticed by Herodotus is evident from the fact of the said scriptures enjoining the exposure of corpses on tops of hills that dogs and carrion birds may see and devour them, (Vedidad Farg. VII., vv. 73, 74).

And since this detestable practice exists now, and did exist three thousand years ago and earlier, there is nothing very presumptuous in the supposition that it existed among the Aryans in their common home in Central Asia, before their dispersion to Europe and India, between four and five thousand years ago. From these Aryans the Pársís have derived their custom of giving up their dead to be devoured by vultures, and exhibiting them to dogs, and from them has come the myth of dogs at the portal of death.

If on the strength of these arguments it could be assumed that the custom of consigning corpses to dogs did at one time prevail among the Aryans, the details of the myth could be easily and very consistently explained. The idea of Eurytheus sending Héraklés to destroy a dog that did not exist on earth, and consequently did no harm to anybody is very fanciful, not to say an unmeaning one. But if the above theory be accepted, it would follow that the story is a mythical representation of Héraklés having been the first to set about putting a stop to the barbarous practice of casting the dead to dogs, though the attempt did not prove ultimately successful, for, according to the fable, Héraklés restored the dog to its place at the infernal gate. Not that Héraklés

was an entity, for even Herodotus rejected some of his exploits on physical grounds, but he was the mythical embodiment of the good actions of man. Similarly the Orpheos myth would suggest the idea of the repugnance which men must have felt in allowing their loved ones (symbolised in the story in the person of Eurydiké) to be eaten up by such hateful animals, and of an attempt—an unsuccessful one again—to put down that custom. It might be that the myth of Orpheos belongs to the same class with that of Bacchus recovering his mother Semelé from Hades, and of Ulysseus, Odin and others visiting Hades, in which the original idea is of Hades being accessible to mortals under certain circumstances. The three or more heads of Kerberos may be accepted as implying plurality, or many-sided watchfulness, or both; and the quadruple eyes of the Vedic legend typifies the same idea. The serpent's tail and the snaky mane of the dog would be the instruments with which corpses were cut up into small morsels. The association of Kerberos with the Dawn by making him the son of Dawn = Saramá = Echidna implies that the removal of the dead in primitive times was generally effected at early morn. It was so among the Greeks; it is still the case with the Tibetans; and the Pársís generaly prefer the morning, though thy do not object to any time during the day, so long as the sun is above the horizon and can cast its rays on the corpse.

Ancient Hindus absolutely prohibited cremation at night, and in a verse of Yama, quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, it is said, "Let not cremation, the first s'ráddha, and travelling be performed at night or at dusk, for if done they would be fruitless."* This is not now strictly followed, and to pro-

* सन्ध्यायां वा तथा रात्रौ दाहः पाथेय कर्म्म च ।
नवश्राद्धञ्च नो कुर्य्यात् कृतं निष्फलतां ब्रजेत् ॥
यमवचनं ।

vide for it, a later authority, the Skanda Purāṇa, ordains that should the cremation be commenced at night it should not be completed until day dawns, so that the offering of water and other rituals may be accomplished in daylight.* The Karmapradípa restricts the offerings in such cases to two piṇḍas only. † The idea was carried further by declaring death at night to be unwelcome. Thus, in the Bhagavadgítá, "Should a person die in gloom, at night, during the wane, or in course of the six months of the southern declension of the sun, he would go to the region of the moon, and then return to the earth, (but never attain salvation)."‡ Manu indirectly explains the object of the prohibition by saying that night is the time for sleep and day for work, and since the wane represents the night of the Pitṛis, and the southern course of the sun the night of the Devas, offerings at those times are not received by them. Most Smṛiti-káras have quoted these verses as authorities.

With these elements at hand the construction of the myth would be perfectly intelligible, and the course of its development would be easily accounted for. That such was really the case it would be impossible in the present state of our information to assert with absolute certainty; but that the theory affords a natural and consistent solution of a very puzzling question, I am disposed to fancy, will be generally admitted. Were it otherwise, still there would be little to

* यदि रात्रौ दहेत् तस्य समाप्तिर्दहनस्य तु ।
परेऽह्न्युदिते सूर्ये कार्य्या तस्योदकक्रिया ॥
स्कान्दवचनं ।

† रात्रौ वा रात्रिशेषे वा क्रियते चेत् द्विजातय: ।
दाहं कृत्वा यथान्यायं द्वौ पिण्डौ निर्वपेत् सुत: ॥

‡ धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्ण: षण्मासा दक्षिणायनं ।
तत्र चान्द्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥
गीतावचनं ।

oppose to the explanation here attempted. It is not necessary to look for entire and absolute consistency in all the details of the story. Neither Hindu nor Greek Mythology was a system designed to be consistent in all its parts. The fables took their rise from various causes, under different circumstances, to elaborate particular facts or ideas, impressive sights or vivid impressions, play on words or poetical thoughts, and gradually they came to be digested, very crudely at best, as a system. Or as Max Müller very aptly says, "there were myths before there was Mythology, and it is in this, their original and unsystematic prevalence, that we may hope to discover the genuine and primitive meaning of every myth." * The question is, did the first germ of the story proceed from a very obtrusive fact a "funeral" which was afterwards worked out into a story? or was it a mere poetical idea from the first start? and all I contend for is, that the former branch of the alternative appears more likely to be true than the latter.

(" Chips." II., p. 147.)

XII.

ON THE SUPPOSED IDENTITY OF THE GREEKS WITH THE YAVANAS OF THE SANSKRIT WRITERS.

The issues involved in the question. Similitude of the terms. Uinim, the most ancient form of Ionia—its meaning not applied exclusively to Greece. Io myth, its origin. Homer's use of *Iaones*. Hebrew meaning. The senses in which Yavana is used in the Old Testament. Iaones in later Greek writers. Origin of Yavana in Sanskrit. Use of it by Panini, Manu, Mahábhárata, Vishṇu Puráṇa. Legend from the Mahábhárata on the origin of the Yavanas. Amarakosha. Hemachandra. Patanjali. Menander. Dramatic works. Dasakumára-charita. Harsha-charita. Yavana noticed in the Smritis. Páli Yona, not used for Alexander in the As'oka inscriptions. Ideas suggested by the fact. Tendency of specific names to become generic. Examples. Was astronomy borrowed by the Hindus from the Greeks? Paulis'a-siddhánta. Weber's assumptions refuted. Kern declines to follow Weber. Manitho. Ptolemies. Locale of Yavana in Indian astronomical works. Summary.



ERE the Greeks the people who were invariably indicated by the term Yavana in the writings of Sanskrit authors? This is a question which has presented itself in some form or other to almost every European orientalist in the course of his researches; and a good deal has already been written on the subject. Colebrooke, Prinsep, Wilson, Schlegel, Lassen, Weber, Max Müller, and others have contributed, each from his own standpoint, his quota for a satisfactory solution of the question. There prevails, nevertheless, a variety of opinions about it, and the necessity exists for a reconsideration of the case. The leaning at present is in favour of those who believe the word Yavana to be identical with Ionia, and to mean the Greeks.

The arguments on which this identification rests, are:

1st. Similarity of sound of the Greek *Ionia* with the Persian *Yúnán*, the Hebrew *Javan*, and the Sanskrit *Yavana*.

2nd. The use of the word *Jona*, the Páli form of the Sanskrit Yavana, to indicate an Ionian Prince.

3rd. References made in Sanskrit astronomical works to foreign treatises on astronomy, which, it is presumed, must have been Greek.

4th. The intercourse of the Indians with the Greek successors of Alexander in North-Western India.

None of these arguments, however, is of a character to suggest the inference proposed, much less to establish it as a positive historical fact. They all take for granted false majors, and consequently lead to erroneous conclusions. What is required to be proved is, not that the Sanskrit word Yavana has been used to indicate the people of Greece, but that it means the Greek race only, and no other. This has not yet been done; the arguments above set forth taken in their broadest sense do not establish this; and, with one exception, no European orientalist has asserted it. The exception refers to Dr. H. Kern, formerly a professor in Queen's College, Benares, who, in the Preface to his edition of the Vrihat Sañhitá, states: "That the Yavanas originally denoted the Greeks and only the Greeks will appear from the sequel. To assert that Yavanas (in ancient times) may denote any kind of people under the sun is so wonderful an assertion that one ought to have some reasons given why the Hindus should give the name of Ionians to nations who were no Ionians, nor had anything in common with Ionians. It is not so strange that after the conquests of the Islám, Muhammadans were called Yavanas. The Yavanas were the foremost, the most dreaded of the Mlechas, (? Mlechchhas) so that Yavana and Mlecha became synonymous. When the Muhammadans trod in the steps of the Greeks, they became the chief Mlechas, consequently Yavanas. Yavana, however,

never denotes an Arab as such, neither formerly nor now-a-days; it is never a name for a *nation*. The only *nation* called Yavanas were the Greeks."* To what extent this assertion is founded on fact, and how much on mere hardihood of assertion, will be evident from the following remarks.

Of the arguments above set forth, the first is by far the most taking with the public. The similarity of sound of the four words quoted is so close, that it cannot but produce an impression in favour of the theory that they are identical, and have a common meaning; but it is at the same time the weakest; for modern philology does not recognise phonetic similitude to be of any use in an argument of this kind. The similitude must be supported by satisfactory proof of the relationship of the roots from which the words are derived, before it can be used as an argument of any weight in support of their identity. But even after the identity of the roots from which the words in the different languages have been produced is proved, the question would remain open, as to how far the secondary meaning of those words had always been the same everywhere, and until that can be done, no definite conclusion can be arrived at. It is necessary, therefore, to look into the history of the words in the different languages in which they occur, before any attempt can be made to prove that they have always indicated one single nation and no other.

Now, the oldest form of Ionia is "Uinim," which is supposed to be used on the monuments of the Ptolemics, "to designate the Greek people;"† but in older records, such as the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty under Tutmosis III., and IV., and Amenophis III., the same term occurs to indicate the foreign subjects of the Pharaohs, *i. e.*, races other than Egyptians. The term is represented by a group of six

* Vrihat Sañhitá, p. 32.

† Curtius, Hist. Greece, Ward's Translation, I., p. 45.

symbols, of which the three upper ones, representing papyrus plants, signify Northern or Lower Egypt, and the three lower ones, representing baskets, mean "all," which is "a comprehensive designation of the people settled in different groups and bands."* Putting the two significations together, the natural inference is, that the term or group of symbols was used to indicate foreigners settled in Egypt, the bulk of whom were maritime people from the Ionian isles and the sea-board of Asia Minor, *i.e.*, Greeks, Phœnicians, and others. Curtius supposes that the Greeks alone were always meant;† but to apply the term exclusively to the Greeks, it would be necessary to show that at the early period of Egyptian history when the term was used, the Greeks themselves bore the name of Uinim, or else the explanation would be against such a deduction. This, however, cannot be done. Down to the time of Homer, the common name for the true Greeks was Achæans, or Argives, or Hellenes, not Ionians, and nowhere in the Greek language is the term Uinim to be met with; and such being the case, it would be unreasonable to argue that their specific and particular name then was Uinim. Probably they were indicated by that name by the Egyptians in the later records of the Ptolemies and of Sesonchis, the Shishak of the Old Testament, but only in common with others, and not specifically.

The term Ionia is derived by the Greeks from Io, the priestess of Héra with whom Zeus fell in love, and whose transformation into a cow and subsequent ramblings over various parts of the earth, particularly along the shores of the Ionian Sea, to which she gave her name, form so interesting a story in Greek mythology. The true interpretation of the myth remains yet untold; but it suggests the idea of the descendants of Io being a mixed race of the Greeks with some of their neighbouring nations; and in support of this

* Curtius., *loc. cit.* † Ibid., p. 46.

theory, I may cite two versions of a story related by Herodotus, in which the principal personages, such as Zeus and Héra and Argos and Hermés, of the Io mŷth, are changed into mortals, and the myth resolved into a successful attempt on the part of certain Phœnician traders to abduct Greek damsels.

The first version of the story was narrated to Herodotus as a Persian tradition. According to it, certain Phœnician traders "freighting their vessel with the wares of Egypt and Assyria, landed at Argos, which was then pre-eminent above all the states included under the common name of Hellas. Here they exposed their merchandise, and traded with the natives for five or six days; at the end of that time, when almost everything was sold, there came down to the beach a number of women, and among them the daughter of the king, who was, they say, agreeing in this with the Greeks, Io, the child of Inachus. The women were standing by the stern of the ship, intent upon their purchases, when the Phœnicians with a general shout, rushed upon them. The greater part made their escape, but some were seized and carried off. Io herself was among the captives. The Phœnicians put the women on board their vessel, and set sail for Egypt."*

The second version is attributed to the Phœnicians, who "deny that they used any violence to remove Io to Egypt; she herself, they say, having formed an intimacy with the captain, while his vessel lay at Argos, and, perceiving herself to be with child, of her own free will accompanied the Phœnicians on their leaving the shore, to escape the shame of detection and the reproaches of her parents."†

It is not at all necessary for my purpose here to enquire which of the two versions is the true one; in either case we have a very prosaic and matter-of-fact solution of a highly romantic myth; and few will, I imagine, be disposed to doubt that the myth is only a poetical embellishment of a

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, I., p. 122. † Ibid, I., p 125.

very common occurrence in primitive states of society, and that the so-called descendants of Io are the mixed descendants of sea-faring men of various nationalities on the western coast of Asia Minor, with an occasional trace of Greek blood in them, and that trace derived, in most instances, from the maternal side; for the practice of carrying away Greek slave girls by piratical traders was common in the early history of Greece. The Greeks themselves, in early times, did not recognise them as their decendants or members of their race, and could not, therefore, be supposed to have assumed the term Ionian as their race name. Homer was well aware of the myth of Io; for he assigns to Hermés the epithet 'Αργειφόντης or 'Argos-slayer' to indicate that part of the myth which says that Argos, as the emissary of Héra, too carefully watched the movement of Io in her bovine form, to prevent Zeus from restoring his lady-love to her human shape, and was ultimately destroyed by him;* but he does not call the Greeks Ionians except in the line:

ἔνθα δὲ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες. (Il. N. 685).

In commenting on this line, Arnold says, "These are the Ionians of Greece, particularly the Athenians, whom Homer, however, calls nowhere else by this name. This whole passage to 700 offers matter for grave doubts, which cannot be treated of here." Schlegel condemns the passage as "a later interpolation"; and Lassen, "in confirmation of this hypothesis," observes "we have to bear in mind that the Ionians formed a very small portion of the Greek tribes that left Attica (Herod., I., 146; Pausanias, VII., 234), and secondly that Ion does not trace his descent immediately from Hellen, which Doros and Aiolos do, but from his son Xuthos, and that the notices regarding his origin and that of his brother Achaios are of various nature."† "With the Greeks themselves," he adds, "the name is post-Homeric, and came pro-

* Keightley's Mythology of Greece, 361. † Indische Alterthumskunde, 736.

bably only into use after the Greek tribes occupied the islands and Asia Minor, and must have arisen from a general term used by the older inhabitants of the land for those who, unlike the Aeolians and Dorians, did not bring an ethnic name with them, but were formed by the union of several peoples with different names,"*

The Hebrew equivalent of the Greek 'Ιάονες, with the digamma "ΙάϜονες, is *Javan*, which under the form of Jehohanan is equivalent to 'Ιωναν and 'Ιωαννάν. In the Septuagint' Ιωαννής is used in the place of the Hebrew Jehohanan יהוחנן, and there is little doubt that it gradually simplified itself into Johannes, Joannes, John, and Jack.† That the word is closely connected with the Greek 'Ιών, 'Ιαν, 'Ιανες, etc., there is no doubt. Accoding to Cruden's 'Concordance" the word means "clay" or "dirt," *i. e.*, the dirty race, formed of the outcastes of various nationalities; or "he that deceives, or makes sorrowful" a very appropriate designation for a race which was noted for its piracy. But comparing it with the Sanskrit *yuvan*, Zend *jawân*, Latin *juvenis*, the true meaning, according to Lassen, would seem to be "young," in contradistinction to Γραιχοί, "the old"—as the Hellenes called themselves—the new mulattoes of the Isles and the Asiatic Coast as opposed to the original inhabitants of the Greek peninsula. If this be the true origin, it must date from pre-historic times.

In the Old Testament, the word occurs several times, as a proper name of an individual, of a race, of a country, of an empire, and of a town. In Genesis x., 2, 4, we find it as the

* Indische Alterthumskunde *loc. cit.*

† The Babylonian god Oannes, 'Ωαννης, who is described by Berosus to have come from the Erythrean Sea, with a fish's body, a human head under cover of a piscene one, human lower limbs, and a fish's tail, is supposed to have its name connected with the term Javan. Cory's Ancient Fragments, 243, *apud* Inman's Ancient Faiths in Ancient Names, II., 400.

proper name of one of the seven sons of Japheth, and father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. The statement is repeated in Chronicles, i., 5 and 7. The Rev. Mr. Hewlett, in one of his annotations to the Bible, says, "Japheth seems to have been the same with Iapetus, whom the Greeks own to have been their father; nor do they know any name of greater antiquity: which made them give it to decrepit persons, as Bochart has observed. *Older than Iapetus* was with them a proverbial saying."* In Isaiah, where the Lord threatens to send those who fail to come to the fold of the Church, or "to escape of them, unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off,"† the name of a country is obviously intended. In explanation of the passage, Hewlett says, "Tarshish denotes the eastern parts; Pul and Lud, the south; Tubal and Javan, the north; and the isles afar off, the west." What the particular country intended is, is not mentioned, and the direction given does not lead to Greece. Dr. Smith takes the several names to be the representatives of the Gentile world.‡ As the name of a tribe or race we find it in Ezekiel xx., 13. Javan and Tubal and Meshech are said there to be the merchants who traded with Tyrus. But the ancient practice of using the names of countries for those of races may be appealed to in support of the Rev. Mr. Hewlett's supposition of their being names of countries, and that the terms are tribal names, derived from the locale of the several peoples mentioned, the first signifying Ionia or Greece. Bearing, however, in mind the early age when the book of Ezekiel was written, one would be disposed to fancy that the Phœnicians were the people meant and not Greeks, who then certainly had very little maritime traffic of their own, and depended a good deal on Phœnician traders for supplies of foreign goods. In Daniel, viii., 21, x.

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* Hewlett's Bible, Gen. x., 2. † Isaiah, lxvi, 19.

‡ Dictionary of the Bible, I., p. 935.

20: xi. 2, the references are accepted by the authorised translator of the Bible to mean the Macedonian empire, and in Zechariah, x., 13, to be the Græco-Syrian empire. Again, in Ezekiel, xxvii., 19, according to Dr. Smith, "a town in the southern part of Arabia (Yemen) whither the Phœnicians traded, is indicated." He adds "the connexion with Uzal decides in favour of this place rather then Greece, as in the Vulgate. The same place may be noticed in Joel, iii., 6, the parallelism to the Sabæans in verse 8, and the fact that the Phœnicians bought instead of selling slaves to the Greeks (Ez. xxvii., 13,) are in favour of this view."*

Commenting upon the different passages above cited, Dr. Smith observes: "From a comparison of these various passages, there can be no doubt that Javan was regarded as the representative of the Greek race ; the similarity of the name to that branch of the Hellenic family with which the Orientals were best acquainted, *viz.*, the Ionians, particularly in the older form in which their name appears ('Ιάω), is too close to be regarded as accidental, and the occurrence of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions of the time of Sargon (about B. C. 709) in the form of Yavnan or Yunan, as descriptive of the isle of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first came in contact with the power of the Greeks, further shows that its use was not confined to the Hebrews, but was widely spread throughout the East. The name was probably introduced into Asia by the Phœnicians, to whom the Ionians were naturally better known than any other of the Hellenic races, on account of their commercial activity and the high prosperity of their towns on the western coast of Asia Minor. The extension of the name westward to the general body of the Greeks, as they became known to the Hebrews through the Phœnicians, was but a natural process, analogous to that which we have already had to notice in the case of Chittim."†

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* Dictionary of the Bible, 936. † Ibid., p. 935.

It is unquestionable that in the later writings of the Hebraites and in modern Hebrew the word is used to indicate the Greeks, the meaning extending from the Asiatic Greeks or Ionians to the Hellenes of Europe ; but from the passages above quoted, it is far from being conclusive that in the early times of the Genesis the Greeks of Europe were known to the Jews, and there is very little to show that Greek colonists had extended to the coast of Asia Minor and the islands near it to such an extent as to constitute a distinct nationality. Dr. Smith admits that "it can hardly be imagined that the early Hebrews themselves had any actual acquaintance with the Greeks ;" and the inscription of Sargon to which reference has been made above, says that in 708 B. C. "the seven kings of the *Yaha* tribes of the country of *Yavnan* (or *Yúnan*), who dwelt in an island in the midst of the Western sea, at the distance of seven days from the coast, and the name of whose country had never been heard by my ancestors, the kings of Assyria and Chaldæa, from the remotest times," &c.* If Yavnan had never been heard of before 708 B. C. in Assyria and Chaldæa, it is not to be supposed that it was better known to the Hebrews in the time of Moses at least seven centuries before that time.

In later Greek there is doubtless ample evidence to show that Ionia formed a part of the Greek empire ; but it is worthy of note that in the oldest passages the term Ionians to imply Greeks is put in the mouths of Persians : thus, in Æschylus, Atossa, when stating that her son had gone to ravage the land of the Ionians, says,

ἀφ' οὗπερ παῖς ἐμὸς στείλας στρατὸν
Ἰαόνων γῆν οἴχεται πέρσαι θέλων· (180.)

But the lady here evidently confounded the Ionians of Asia Minor with the Spartans. In another passage in the 'Persians' we have—

διὰ δ' Ἰαόνων χέρας (565.)

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, I., p. 7.

Paley says that the Athenians are meant by the Ιαόνων.

In the 'Acharnians' of Aristophanes, the pseudo-Persian ambassador abuses an Athenian in bad Greek, *i. e.*, Persian Greek, thus :

Οὐ λῆψι χρῦσο χαυνοπρῶκτ' Ἰαυαῦ.

In explanation of this, a commentator, according to Lassen, says that the Barbarians call all Greeks Ἰάονες.

On the whole, these instances from the ancient Egyptian, Hebrew, Assyrian, and Greek authors clearly show that Ionia or Javan has not enjoyed a persistent individuality of meaning at all times ; that originally it meant foreigners ; then Eurasians or mixed tribes of Europeans and Asiatics ; then Asiatic Greeks ; and lastly Greeks generally, whether Asiatic or European. Under these circumstances, it is not to be supposed that the Sanskrit Yavana, even if we accept it to be originally the same with the Hebrew Javan and the Persian and Arabic Yúnán, should possess a greater fixity of sense than did its prototype. On the contrary, the most probable conclusion would be, that it was more loosely used in India than in Persia, Arabia, and Syria. Whether such was really the case or not, will be evident from the remarks which follow.

According to some Sanskrit writers, the word Yavana is derived from the root *yu* 'to mix,' implying "a mixed race, or one in which no distinction of caste is observed."* It may be taken to mean mulattoes, such as the story of Io would indicate the original Ionians to have been ; but no Sanskrit lexicographer has suggested it. Others derive it from *ju* "to be swift," a swift or intrepid race.† Others, again, take it to be a derivative of *youn* "the womb" (of the cow of

* यौति मिश्रयति वा मिश्रीभवति सर्व्वत्र जातिभेदाभावात् इति यवनः। युमिश्रणेऽस्मात् अधिकरणे ल्युट्।

† In this case the word should be written with *j* instead of *y*. When implying a horse, this is the correct spelling ; Raghunandana enjoins that even when implying a race of men, the word should also be written with *j* and not with *y*.

Vas'ishtha), or a race born for the purpose of opposing the armies of Vis'vámitra.* The first radical is the same which occurs in the formation of the word *yuvan* "young," originally *yuva*, and, as already stated, the word may be accepted to indicate the youthful or new race of Asiatic Greeks as opposed to the "Graichoi" or the old race of European Greece. Should this derivation be accepted, it would not be necessary to suppose that the word Yuvan travelled from Asia Minor to India; on the contrary, its similitude with the Latin *juvenis*, Saxon *iong*, Dutch *jong*, Swedish and Danish *ung*, Gothic *yuggs*, and Zend *jiwán*, would indicate it to be one of those domestic terms which travelled with the Aryans in their various migrations from their common home in Central Asia.

The word, as a tribal designation, seems to have been well-known and current in Sanskrit from a very early period. Páṇini, in his great work on Sanskrit grammar, gives it in the form of *Yavanání*, as an example to show the use of the affix *áṇuk* to indicate the writing of the *Yavanas*.† This implies that it was a current word at his time, at least nine or ten centuries before the commencement of the Christian era according to the calculation of the late Dr. Goldstücker. How long before that time it was familiar to the Bráhmaṇic race as a tribal name, we know not; but it may safely be concluded that it was not in the sense of the Greeks, whether Asiatic or European, that it was used by Páṇini and his predecessors. According to the most recent researches on the subject, the art of writing was not introduced into Greece before the seventh century B. C., and Páṇini could not possibly, therefore, refer to Greek writing two or three centuries before its formation. If we accept Professor Max Müller's date for Páṇini, *i. e.*, the early part of the sixth century B. C., it would still be presumptuous to

* The story has a curious resemblance to the Io myth.

† Páṇini IV., I., 49.

believe that Páṇini had come to know of the introduction of writing into Greece so soon after the occurrence. Dr. Goldstücker observes that "it denotes the writing of the Persians, probably the cuneiform writing which was already known before the time of Darius, and is peculiar enough in its appearance and different enough from the alphabet of the Hindus to explain the fact that its name called for the formation of a new word."* In either case, the term Yavana in Páṇini's time indicated, not the Ionian Greeks, but either the Persians or the Assyrians. Professor Max Müller is of opinion that the writing referred to by Páṇini is a Semitic one. He says: "Yavana is by no means the exclusive name of the Greeks or Ionians. Professor Lassen has proved that it had a much wider meaning, and that it was even used of Semitic nations. There is nothing to prove that Páṇini was later than Alexander, or that he was acquainted with Greek literature. In the Lalita Vistara, where a great many alphabets are mentioned, nothing is said of a Yavanání or Greek alphabet. The Sanskrit alphabet, though it has been by some suspected to be derived from a Semitic source, has certainly not been traced back to a Greek source. It shows more similarity with the Aramæan than with any other variety of the Phœnician alphabet.† Yavanání lipi most likely means that variety of the Semitic alphabet which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Páṇini, became the type of the Indian alphabet."‡

Weber first supposed that it meant "the writing of the Greeks or Semites" (Ind. St. I., p. 144), but he subsequently changed his opinion, and took the word for the writing of the Greeks alone. (Ind. St. IV., p. 89). It was evidently the

* Mánava Kalpa Sútra. Introduction, p. 16.

† Lepsius, Zwei sprachvergleichende Abhandlungen, p. 78. Schulze's Conjectures about *Mesnud*. Weber, Indische Skizzen.

‡ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 521.

necessary consequence of the Greek theory which he had then matured. Lassen brings down Páṇini to the time of Chandragupta. But Max Müller and Goldstücker have so clearly demonstrated the pre-Buddhistic antiquity of Páṇini, that nothing further need be here said on the subject.

Manu refers to the Yavanas several times in his code of laws, along with the S'akas, Kámbojas, and other rude tribes on the borders of India ; but he affords no clue to their identification. In one place (X., 43, and 44) he states, however, that "the following races of Kshatríyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Bráhmaṇs, have sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes: *viz.*, Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, and Draviḍas ; Kámbojas, Yavanas, and S'akas ; Páradas, Pahlavas, Chínas, Kirátas, Daradas, and Khasas." All these tribes, along with several other, are generically named Dasyus, or wild people, who were descendants of the four original castes, mixing promiscuously with each other and neglecting their religious observances.* Elsewhere these tribes are called Vrátyas or mulattoes. The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, likewise, assigns the name Dasyu to these fallen tribes. The word Mlechchha is also applied to these degraded persons.†

The Mahábhárata says: "Other three outcaste classes are the Chaṇḍála, the Vrátya, and the Vaidya, begotten by a S'údra on females of the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatríya and Vais'ya castes respectively."‡ In another place it states: "These tribes of Kshatríyas, *viz.*, S'akas, Yavanas, Kámbojas, Dráviḍas Kalindas, Pulindas, Us'ínaras, Kolísarpas and Máhisakas, have become Vṛishalas from seeing no Bráhmaṇas."§ Elsewhere it describes the Yavanas to be the descendants of Turvasu, the

* Book X. v. 12 to 24.

† Haug's Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. The Mlechchhas were, however, originally a separate tribe like the Yavanas.

‡ Anus'ásana Parva, line 2921. *Apud* Muir's Sanskrit Texts, 2nd ed., I., p. 481.

§ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, 2nd ed. I., p. 482

second son of Yayáti, and grandson of Nahusha.* These descendants were degraded for neglect of filial duty. The tribes in question, though degraded, were, however, not altogether left out of the pale of Bráhmaṇical institutions, and Dr. Muir quotes a long passage from the Mahábhárata to show what they were required to do by way of religious observance and social duty.†

The Vishṇu Puráṇa follows the Mahábhárata very closely, and in describing the boundary of India (Bhárata-varsha) says, "Its eastern border is occupied by the Kirátas, and the western by Yavanas, while the middle is inhabited by Kshatríyas, Vais'yas, and S'údras, engaged in their several fixed occupations of sacrifice, war, trade, &c."‡

Adverting to a story of war between Vis'vámitra and the Haihayas and the Tálajaṅghás, it adds that the Yavanas were punished by having their heads shaven, a characteristic mark which, according to some, they retained afterwards; but this cannot be predicated of the Ionian Greeks. The Yavanas are mentioned in several other places in the Vishṇu Puráṇa, but not in a way to indicate who they were.

The Vishṇu Puráṇa's location of the Yavanas on the north-western border of India may be accounted for by supposing that the work was written after the occupation of Afghánistán by the Greeks; but the accounts of the Yavanas given in Manu's Institutes and the Mahábhárata refer obviously to neighbouring races, and cannot be connected with the Greeks, whether Asiatic or European. Certain it is that beyond the phonetic similitude of the name, there is nothing to justify the assumption that the works in question intended the Greeks of Asia Minor.

The Mahábhárata, however, has a legend on the origin of

* A'di Parva. Sec. 85, verse 8533.

† Sanskrit Texts, 2nd ed., I., p. 484.

‡ Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa, II., 37.

certain Yavanas which is of importance in connexion with the present enquiry. According to it, "Once on a time Vis'vámitra, who was son of Gádhi, king of Kányakubja (Kanauj), and grandson of Kus'ika, when out hunting, came to the hermitage of Vas'ishtha, where he was received with all honour, entertained together with his attendants with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow (Nandíní), the fulfiller of all his desires. The cupidity of Vis'vámitra is aroused by the sight of this beautiful animal (all of whose fine points are enumerated in the legend), and he offers Vas'ishtha a hundred million cows, or his kingdom, in exchange for her. Vas'ishtha, however, replies that he is unable to part with her even in return for the kingdom. Vis'vámitra then tells him that he will enforce the law of the stronger: (6665) 'I am a Kshàtríya, thou art a Bráhman, whose functions are austere fervour and sacred study. How can there be any vigour in Bráhmans who are calm and self-restrained? Since thou dost not give up to me, in exchange for a hundred million cows, that which I desire I shall not abandon my own class characteristic; I will carry away the cow by force.' Vas'ishtha, confident, no doubt, of his own superior power, tells him to do as he proposes without loss of time. Vis'vámitra accordingly seizes the wonder-working cow; but she will not move from the hermitage, though beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither. Witnessing this, Vas'ishtha asks her what he, a patient Bráhman, can do? She demands of him why he overlooks the violence to which she is subjected. Vas'ishtha replies: 'Force is the strength of Kshatríyas, patience that of Bráhmans. As patience possesses me, go, if thou pleasest: (6676. *Kshattriyánám balam tejo bráhmanánám Kshamá balam, Kshamámám bhajate yasmát gamyatám yadi rochate).* The cow enquires if he means to abandon her, as, unless he forsakes her, she can never be carried off by force. She is assured by

Vas'ishṭha that he does not forsake her, and that she should remain if she could. Hearing these words of her master, the cow tosses her head aloft, assumes a terrific aspect, (6680) her eyes become red with rage, she utters a deep bellowing sound, and puts to flight the entire army of Vis'vámitra. Being (again) beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither, she becomes more incensed, her eyes are red with anger, her whole body, kindled by her indignation, glows like the noonday sun, she discharges showers of firebrands from her tail, creates Pahlavas from the same member, Draviḍas and S'akas, Yavanas, S'abaras, Kanchis, Sarabhas, Pauṇḍras, Kirátas, Siṅhalas, Vasas, and other tribes of armed warriors from her sweat, urine, excrements, etc., who assail Vis'vámitra's army, and put it to a complete rout. (6692.) 'Beholding this great miracle, the product of Bráhmaṇical might, Vis'vámitra was humbled at (the impotence of) a Kshatríya's nature, and exclaimed, 'Shame on a Kshatríya's force ; it is the force of a Bráhmaṇ's might, that is force indeed.' Examining what was and was not force, and (ascertaining) that austere fervour is the supreme force, he abandoned his prosperous kingdom, and all its brilliant regal splendour, and, casting all enjoyments behind its back, he devoted himself to austerity."*

This story is repeated in the S'alya Parva, but with some variations. According to it, the occasion of the quarrel was not a hunting excursion followed by an entertainment and a desire on the part of Vis'vámitra to possess the cow, but a military expedition against certain Rákshasas, when the king's army encamped near the hermitage of the sage, and destroyed the grove around it, and the sage, in a fit of anger, asked the cow "to create terrible S'avaras." "The cow so addressed created men of dreadful aspect, who broke and scattered in all directions the army of Vis'vámitra."*

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* Muir's Sanskrit Texts, 2nd ed., p. 390.

† Ibid., p. 393.

The story is also given at great length in the first book of the Rámáyaṇa, but there is very little in it to show who the Yavanas were. Created along with the S'akas, they are both described to be radiant, mighty, enveloped in golden armour, dressed in yellow garments, protected with golden armour, and armed with swords and shields.*

Commentators are of opinion that this story does not refer to the origin of the Yavanas as a race, but only recounts the creation of a particular body of that race for the purpose of overcoming Vis'vámitra. Anyhow it is evident that we have in it, under cover of a romantic story, a tale of a war between some Bráhmaṇs and Kshatríyas, in which the former secured the co-operation of certain of their non-Hindu, or outcaste, neighbours, and it would be absurd to suppose that the Greeks, whether Asiatic or European, ever did come to interpose in such a quarrel. The story refers to very early times and to persons who were authors of some of the hymns of the Ṛig Veda, and at the time and among them Ionians could not possibly have been known, for then they had not yet settled down into a distinct nationality. It is, doubtless, remarkable that we have in this tale a reproduction of the Io myth ; for we have here the Yavanas produced by a cow even as Io in her bovine metamorphosis produced the Ionians. The coincidence, however, is purely accidental. The rivalry of Vas'ishṭha and Vis'vámitra is repeatedly and prominently adverted to in the Sañhitá of the Ṛig Veda, though no mention is there made of the creation of Yavanas to side with any of the contending parties. This rivalry is also noticed in the other Sañhitás, and likewise in some of the Bráhmaṇas, but without any reference to the Yavanas. The cupidity and oppressive character of Vis'vámitra are the objects of condemnation, and as land and cattle were the principal articles of wealth at that time, and both were indicated by the same term *go*,

* Rámáyaṇa, Chapters 51 to 65.

Puránic mythologists have produced a miraculous cow out of it. The prayer for cattle is common enough in the Rig Veda, and in one place (VII, 184) we have "seeking to milk thee (Indra) like a cow in a rich meadow, Vas'ishṭha sent forth his prayers to thee." In several places the rains, or rain-producing clouds, are described as cows, and speech is likewise indicated by the same term. The type of the miraculous, all-bestowing cow is, however given in full detail in two hymns of the Atharva Veda. Both these have been translated by Dr. Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*,* and I shall quote one of them here. "Prayer *(brahman)* is the chief *(thing)*; the Brahman is the lord *(adhipati)*. From the Kshatríya who seizes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Bráhmaṇ, there depart piety, valour, good fortune, force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, prayer *(brahman)*, royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, milk, sap, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle; all these things depart from the Kshatríya who seizes the priest's cow. Terrible is the Bráhmaṇ's cow, filled with deadly poison. In her reside all dreadful things, and all forms of death, all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. When seized, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods." The subject of the Vis'vámitra episode is the attempt on the part of a Kshatríya to rob a Bráhmaṇ of his cow, and the consequences thereof, and the extract above given, shows clearly and most fully in the form of a denunciation what the author of the Mahábhárata and the Purāṇas have developed into a tale. I feel satisfied that few will doubt the accuracy of this interpretation, and seek to engraft on it the Io myth.

Schlegel, in commenting on the word Yavana in the Vis'vámitra legend as given in the Rámáyaṇa, makes the

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* 2nd Edition, Vol. I., pp. 285—288.

following remarks: "*Yavanorum* nomen satis *indefinite usur*-pari videtur de populis ultra Persiam versus *occidentem sitis*. De Bactris, quos *V. Cl. Wilso* huc advocat, dubito. At Arabes iam olim ita appellatos fuisse patet ex nomine thuris inde deducto, *yávana*, quod *Amarasinhas* habet Ed. Col., p. 162, d. 30. Post Alexandri Magni tempora scriptores Indi *et Graecos Yavanos dixere*, qui mos iis cum Persis fuit communis. Memorabilis sane est similitudo vocabuli Indici cum Ionum nomine, cuius antiquissima forma fuit Ἰάονες, et digammo restituto ΙΑFΟΝΕΣ. Nec tamen hoc nomen est vere Homericum: nam unicus locus, ubi id legitur, (IL. N. 685) manifesto est interpolatus. Cf. *Heynii* et *Knightii* annott. ad h. l. Inde mihi quidem probabile fit, Ionum maiores in ipsa Graecia ante migrationem nondum ita dictos fuisse, vocemque esse barbarae originis; colonos autem longo demum tempore postuam Asiae Minoris oram insiderant, quum a vicinis Lydis ita appellari consuevissent, Ionum nomen sibi proprium fecisse. Traxerunt et alia ex imitatione babarorum: unde enim nisi hinc epitheton ἑλκεχίτωνες? (Il. N. et Hymn. in Apoll., 147.) Apud Indos contra vocabulum *yavana* est antiquissimum; legitur in Man. Codice, X, 44. Memorantur ibidem praeterea Câmboji, Sacae, Pahlavi, aliique, de quarum gentium situ commentator *Cullúcabhattus* οὐδὲ γρύ. In rebus geographicis plerumque a scholiastis frustra auxilium exspectatur. De *Cámbojis* cf. supra annott. ad VI, 21."*

In the Karṇa Parva, Karṇa, in describing to S'alya the different vile races of mankind with which he had come in contact in different parts of the earth, names the Yavanas, who are said to be 'omniscient and especially heroic.' In the S'ánti Parva, Bhíshma, in reply to certain queries of Yudhishṭhira, describes the martial peculiarities of certain races, thus: "The Gándháras and Sindhu-Sauviras are most proficient in fighting with many-pointed javelins; the daunt-

* Rámáyaṇa Valmicis, I, part ii., p. 168.

less, vigorous and powerful Us'ínaras are proficient in the use of every kind of weapon, and their might is equal to every undertaking ; the Práchyas are unfair fighters, but experienced in elephant fights ; the Yavanas, the Kámbojas, and the dwellers on the frontier of Madhurá are proficient in fighting hand to hand without arms ; the Dákshiṇátyas fight best with swords and shields."* Of the several races or tribes here mentioned, the Gándháras are the people of Kandahár ; the Sindhu-Sauviras are a tribe who dwelt on the banks of the Indus ; the Us'ínaras are people to the south of Kandahár ; the Práchyas are the eastern tribes of Manipur, Kachhár, Tripurá, &c. ; the Kámbojas are said to dwell in the north-western frontier of India, their country is famous for its horses, and we have to look for them near the Hindu Kush ;† and the Yavanas, who are always spoken along with them, must be their neighbours, probably Bactrians. The word Madhurá is the ancient form of Mathurá, and the

* गान्धाराः सिन्धुसौवीरा नखरप्रासयोधिनः ।
आभीरवः सुबलिनस्तद्बलं सर्व्वपारगं ॥
सर्व्वशस्त्रेषु कुशलाः सत्त्ववन्तो ह्युशीनराः ।
प्राच्यामातङ्गयुद्धेषु कुशलाः कूटयोधिनः ॥
तथा यवनकाम्बोजा मथुरामभितश्च ये ।
एते नियुद्धकुशला दाक्षिणात्यासिपाणयः ॥

† Schlegel has the following remarks on the Kámbojas :

"*Cámbojam* lexicography Angli in ipsa India versus septentrionem ponunt, ed falso. Etenim in descriptione plagae septentrionalis, quam quartus Rameidos liber exhibit, Cámboji post Váhlicos inter varias gentes barbaras nominantur. Cf. Raghu-Vañsa, IV, 67-69, ubi Raghus, Sindhu traiecto post *Hunos* devictos demum Cámbojam adit, nobilium equorum patriam. De *Cambaya* urbe ad sinum Gurjaranum non esse cogitandnm, multo minus de *Cambodia* in peninsula ultra Gangem, per se patet." Rámáyaṇa, Vol. I, Part ii. p. 30.

Wilson places the country of Kámboja in Afghánistán. He says, "We have part of the name, or Kambi, in the Cambistholi of Arrian ; the last two syllables, no doubt, represent the Sanskrit 'sthala,' 'place,' 'district,' and the word denotes the dwellers in the Kamba or Kámbis country," (Vishṇu Puráṇa, II. 182). Elsewhere he adds : "There is an apparent trace of this name in the Canmujis of

people of that place are to this day famous for their proficiency in wrestling. Lassen, however, says it is probably the name of a river, and we must look for it somewhere in the neighbourhood of the country of the Yavanas.

Káfristán, who may have retreated to the mountains before the advance of the Turk tribes." (Ibid., III. p. 292.) This would give us the northern part of Afghánistán for the locale of Kámboja ; and it is borne out by the tradition of some of the Kámbojas who now dwell in India. As nothing is known to Europeans of this remnant of the old race, I shall quote here a part of a letter from Bábu Sambhuchandra Mukarji, in which he has furnished me an account of this tribe.

"The Kambohs," he says, "are a small but very well-known, even to being notorious, people scattered in many parts of Upper India, from Benares up to the Panjab, and I do not know how far south. There are many families in Oudh, and a considerable colony in Rohilkhand, Agra, Delhi and the Panjab. There are both Hindu and Musalman Kambohs,—neither in good odour with the rest of the community to which they belong. By the Hindus, the quasi-Hindu section is regarded as a sort of Pariah tribe, like the Tágás and such like. I call these *quasi*-Hindu, because, though in sense clinging to the hem of the garments of Hindu society among its lowest rank and file, they hardly properly belong to it. Their wealthier members, like those of other low castes, try to be respectable by the only means open, namely, conformity to the usages and ways of the superior castes and demonstrative subserviency to the latter, though as classes they are little inclined to that conformity or to that subserviency. Generally they are independent of Bráhmaṇ and Kshatriya influence, and do not pay deference to the leading castes. This may be understood as a protest against the degradation in which they have been kept, but the other low castes—the lowest recognized ones—do not behave themselves in the same manner. I think the mutual attitude of the Kambohs, Tágás, &c., and the rest of the Hindus, is due to the fact of the former being a colony of hardy mountaineers from the West. Confining ourselves to the Kambohs, the attitude is a presumption in favour of their identity with the outcasted extra-Indian, hostile race of Kámboja mentioned by Manu. As we find them, they are a turbulent, stiff-necked, crafty race, and as such, more akin to the Afghans, than any of the meek Hindu races of the plains of India, wherein they have now been settled for generations. From want of sympathy, as well as the strong reflex influence of caste-feeling on Indian Musalmans, the Muhammadan Kambohs are a despised set in Muhammadan society. But of course from the different religion and manners of the Muhammadans, and the absence among them of the unalterable barriers which separate class from class, even man from man, in Hindu society, the Muhammadan Kambohs are far better off than their Hindu brethren : they cannot possibly be degraded like the latter. There is little doubt that if their character had been more respectable, they would have been more res-

In the Amarakosha, the word occurs as the name of a kind of horse, being enumerated along with the horses of Scythia, Bactria, Kandahár, &c. Commentators explain it to mean a swift horse; but this is scarcely likely, seeing that

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pected by the other Musalmans, and in so many generations as have elapsed since their conversion, their origin might have been forgotten, as that of so many other tribes absorbed in Muhammadan society have been. But they have retained their original Afghan character in common with their Hindu brethren, and as their comparative elevation by their conversion has given them opportunities for education and office to which the others are comparatively strangers, they have only added to it all the arts of chicane, flattery, and intrigue. Thus they have risen high, like the Lálás and the Káshmírís. Like the Lálás and the Káshmírís, they are esteemed for their business capacity and ability in general. They know well how and where to be courtly, and always watch for opportunities to usurp power, the semblance as well as the reality. Thus if the Kambohs are contemned, they are likewise feared. Both Káshmírís and Kambohs are looked upon with suspicion as dangerous. Persecuted from place to place, now in sunshine, now in gloom, they are not crushed. If they are banished from one district, as Guláb Siñh once banished the Káshmírís, they rise to the top in another, and not long after return to their former district in greater strength than ever.

"At the Court of Oudh, Izhar Husain and Muzaffar Husein, Kambohs, were ministers, and knighted and ennobled. The Kambohs have been known and feared at Murshidábád, Rámpúr, and other Darbárs. If there is any distinction to be made between Káshmírís and Kambohs for villainy, the voice of the people gives the palm to the former. No proverb is oftener on the lips of the people of Upper India than this:—

Yake Afgán, duwum Kamboh, siyum badzát Káshmírí.

'First the Áfghán, second the Kamboh, and the third villain (lit. bastard, *villain*) is the Káshmírí.'

"There is a conflict between the accounts of the origin of the Hindu and Muhammadan branches of the tribe. The pretensious Mahammadans, as if in answer to the contempt of general Indian society, assert for themselves the most extravagant claims of superiority. To atone for their actual degradation, they are not content to be noble, they must be illustrious—absolutely royal. They derive themselves, to their own satisfaction, from the old Kai sovereigns of Persia. When the Kais, they say, lost the crown, and were ordered to quit the country, they retired to India. As they passed, the people called the fugitives *Kai amboh*, meaning the *Kai party*, which became *Kamboh*. This is clever, and phonetically plausible, but nothing more. It is not in the nature of things— it is less in the nature of things Indian—that the descendants of royal fugitives from any country, of whatever race, should not receive honors and welcome from all classes of the

all the other terms are specific and intended to indicate the locale of the breeds; the Yavana horse, followed by the Scythian horse, the Kandahári horse, the Kámboja horse, the Turki horse, unmistakably points to a country; and if so, we must look for that Yavana country nearer home than Ionia or Greece, whence no horses were exported. With the first vowel lengthened (*yávana*, the produce of the Yavana country) the word is given as a synonym of Turushka (Turkish), and means 'gum benjamin' or 'olibanum,' which is a produce of Central Asia, but which was never imported from Ionia or Greece. *Yavaphala* or Jaṭámánsi (*Valarca jatamansi*) in the same way, is a produce of Central Asia and not of Greece, and its name shews the Yavanas to have been a Central Asiatic race.

Hemchandra gives *yavaneshṭa*, or "the beloved of the Yavanas," for lead, which was taken away from India by the

people. If nothing else, their wealth and dignity, learning and character, would command these. Least of all is it likely that they should, whether they became Hindus or Muhammadans, be degraded to that abject situation of pariahhood in which we find the Kambohs The whole narrative is of a piece with the impudence of the class. Under any circumstances, there is the greatest necessity for caution in accepting the accounts of the origin of so notorious a people, low in the social estimation of the rest of society, but lettered and able, every second man of whom is a clever secretary, and who have produced many literary men. They have irresistible temptation to tamper with their tradition.

"The accounts of the Hindu branch is of course more modest and perfectly credible. Both the accounts place the original seat of the race beyond the Panjáb, but the Muhammadans place it far in the west in Persia, while the Hindus are content to come from nearer Afghánistán. According to the latter, they were one of the tribes on the Afghán frontier. In the tracks of the numerous invasion of Mahmúd, the Ghaznavide, part of their people were forced to become Moslems. Under what circumstances they crossed the Five Rivers and moved eastward is not explained. Nevertheless, the Hindu Kambohs seem to give an unvarnished tradition of the race. Some Hindu Kambohs assert that they and the Kshatríyas of the Panjáb are the same people, descended from a common stock. Even this may be explained, and is more probable than the royal pretensions of the Muhammadans."

Phœnicians and Romans, but never by the Greeks—at least there is nothing to show that the Greeks were particularly fond of it. The same author gives *yavanapriya* for 'black pepper,' and that was an article of commerce with the western nations long before the Greeks came to India. According to the Rájanirghaṇṭa, *yavaneshṭá*, with a long final a, is the name of garlick, and all the Mlechchha races are fond of it; it was not a special favourite of the Greeks. The same work gives *yaváni* or *Yavániká* as the name of *Ptichotis ajwan*, which is a native of Scythia, Bactria, Persia, Turkey, and the southern parts of Europe generally, and is not confined to Ionia or Greece, nor is there anything to show that the Greeks alone traded in it.

Again, *yavaniká* for the outer screen of a tent *(qanát)* is an article with which the Hindus must have come into contact in their intercourse with the nomades of Central Asia, long before the advent of Alexander in India, if they did not bring it thence with them when migrating from Ariya to India.

In Kátyáyana's Várttika on Aphorism 175 of the first Section of the fourth Book of Páṇini, the Yavanas are linked with the Kámbojas, showing their near relationship.

There is a passage in the Mahábháshya of Pataṇjali which also calls for a few remarks here. It has often been quoted as a proof in support of the theory which would interpret the word Yavana to mean a Greek, and it is a remarkable one for many reasons. Professor Goldstücker, in his learned essay on Páṇini, gives the following summary of the passage in question. "In Sútra iii. 2, iii., Páṇini teaches that the imperfect must be used, when the speaker relates a past fact belonging to a time which precedes the present, and Kátyáyana improves on this rule by observing that it is used too when the fact related is *out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb.* And Pataṇ-

jali again appends to this Várttika the following instances and remarks: "*The Yavana besieged* (imperfect) *Ayodhyá; the Yavana besieged* (imperfect) *the Mádhyamikas.* Why does Kátyáyana say: '*out of sight?*' (because in such an instance as) 'the sun rose' (the verb must be in the aorist.) Why '*notorious?*' (because in such an instance as) 'Devadatta made a mat' (the verb must be in the preterite.) Why does he say: '*but when the fact could be seen by the person who uses the verb?*' (because in such an instance as) according to a legend, Vásudeva killed Kañsa, (the verb must likewise be in the preterite.)

"Hence he plainly informs us, and this is acknowledged also by Nágojíbhatta, that he lived at the time—though he was not on the spot—when "*the Yavana besieged Ayodhyá,*" and at the time when "*the Yavana besieged the Mádhyamíkas.*" For the very contrast which he marks between these and the other instances proves that he intended practically to impress his contemporaries with a proper use of the imperfect tense."*

Now, if we accept the date of Buddha's death to be 543 B. C., and the period of Nágárjuna, the founder of the Mádhymika sect, to be four hundred years after the death of Buddha, we would bring the time of Patanjali to 143 B.C.; the time would be only 43 B.C., if the interval between the death of Buddha and the promulgation of the doctrines in question be

* Preface to the Mánava Kalpa Sútra, p. 229.

III. 2, III : अनद्यतने लङ्—Kátyáyana : परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये.—Patanjali : परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः । अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् । अरुणद् यवनो माध्यमिकान् । परोक्ष इति किमर्थं । उदगादादित्यः । लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थं । चकार कटं देवदत्तः ॥ प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषय इति किमर्थं । जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः—Kaiyyaṭa : परोक्षे चेति । अननुभूतत्वात् परोक्षोऽपि प्रत्यक्षयोग्यतामात्राश्रयेण दर्शनविषय इति विरोधाभावः —Nágojibhaṭṭa on these instances of Patanjali : भाष्ये जघानेति किम् । स बधो हि नेदानीन्तनप्रयोक्तृदर्शनयोग्योऽपीत्यर्थः । अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकाल:—प्रवर्त्तन इति बोध्यं ॥

five hundred years as supposed by some. Then deducting therefrom sixty-six years which Lassen and Max Müller suppose are due to a mistake in the tradition on the subject, and the date would be brought down to twenty-three years after Christ. Again, Abhimanyu of Káshmír is said to have encouraged the work of Patanjali, and flourished in 60 A.C. Thus we have a wide range of two hundred and three years, from 143 B. C. to 66 A. C., for the date of Patanjali, and during that time the Greeks, the Bactrians, and the Scythians, severally attacked India on so many different occasions, that it is impossible to say with any approach to certainty that by the term Yavana, Patanjali meant the Greeks and no other.* Goldstücker reconciles this by saying: "Yet the word '*Yavana*' carries with it another correction of this uncertainty. According to the researches of Professor Lassen, it is impossible to doubt that *within this period*, *viz.*, between 143 before, and 60 after Christ, this word Yavana can only apply to the Græco-Indian kings, nine of whom reigned from 160 to 85 B. C. And if we examine the exploits of these kings, we find that there is but one of whom it can be assumed that he, in his conquests of Indian territory, came as far as Ayodhyá. It is *Menandros*, of whom so early a writer as Strabo reports that he extended his conquests as far as the Jamuná river, and of whom one coin has actually been found at Mathurá. He reigned, according to Lassen's researches, more than twenty years, from about 144 B. C."†

The argument here, however, is founded on a *petitio principii*—that "it is impossible to doubt that between 143 before and 60 after Christ, this word Yavana can only imply the Græco-Indian kings." Lassen himself has admitted that within the period in question, the Græco-Bactrians were like-

* I quote the dates for the sake of argument and not in any way to express my adhesion to them.

† *Pánini*, p. 234.

wise called Yavanas, and generally he says: "I believe I may look upon the name of Yavana as an old *general* term. The Indians use this name for the remotest nations of the West; but in different periods, according to the degree of knowledge, and the extent of the commerce of the Indians the term was applied, both by Indians and Iranians, to various peoples in the West. Its oldest signification is probably Arabia, because Arabia is called *Yavana.* The next meaning is supplied by the term *yavanání,* which signifies the writing of the Yavanas, and must be referred to Aryan writing, which was known to the Indians, and was used before the time of As'oka in Gandhára, west of the Indus, because As'oka had one of his inscriptions cut in that system of writing."* Elsewhere he says, "The old Indians used the name of Yavana as a general term for all the nations of the West It signified first the Arabians, and, probably at the same time, the Phœnicians, because the latter came most frequently as merchants from the West to India."†

As regards Menandros,‡ it is a mere assumption to say that because Strabo states his conquests had extended as far as the Yamuná, it must have extended three hundred miles beyond that river to the middle of Oudh. Put in other words, the statement would stand thus: Strabo was wrong when he said the conquest of Menandros extended as far as the Yamuná, and therefore his erroneous statement may be taken as a proof of the conquest in question having extended to Oudh. The logic of such an argument, to say the least, is highly unsatisfactory. Cunningham, I understand, overcomes the difficulty by assuming the 'Isamos,' the river named by Strabo, to be the "Isan nadi" between Fatehgarh and

* Indische Alterthumskunde, p. 729.

† Ibid., p. 861.

‡ Mr. D'Alwis is of opinion that the Malinda of the Páli Annals is perhaps Menander. Páli Grammar, p. XLII.

Kánhpur, and not the Yamuná; but I do not know the arguments on which this assumption is made to rest.

The argument about the coin of Menander found at Mathurá may be placed besides that which would assume a Roman conquest in Travancore, because a lot of gold coins of the Cæsars have been found there. As a matter of fact it is well-known that coins of Apollodotos and Strato have likewise been found at Mathura, but none of Menander in Oudh. These two arguments failing, there would be nothing to show that Pataṇjali used the term Yavana to mean "a Greek and a Greek only." If we bear in mind the facts that Menander came to the possession of the eastern portion of the dominions of Eukratides on this side of the Paropamisus, and that according to the Vishṇu Puráṇa, the Yavana country abutted on the western side of the Indus, there will be nothing to object to Menander's being called a Yavana, a sovereign of the country to the west of the Indus, or of the Yavana country, without meaning that he was a Greek. It should be added here that the term Mádhyamika, which has been taken by the critic to mean the Buddhist sect of that name, has been also frequently used to indicate the people of the middle country, that is, Mathurá and its neighbourhood, and there is nothing to prove that Pataṇjali used it in the former, and not in the latter sense. On the countrary, one of the two examples referring to a country, the other may be accepted in the same sense. Pataṇjali, as a Hindu, probably did not care much about the history of the Buddhist sect of the Mádhyamikas, and whoever made war with the Mádhyamikas, it may be fairly presumed, preferred a country or a nation to a religious sect.

To turn now to the dramatic works which have been appealed to by the upholders of the Greek theory. Dushyanta is described in the S'akuntalá, as attended by a retinue "of Yavana women with bows in their hands, and wearing garlands of wild flowers." Commenting on this passage, Profes-

sor Williams says: "Who these women were has not been accurately ascertained. Yavana is properly Arabia, but is also a name applied to Greece. The Yavanas were therefore either natives of Arabia or Greece, and their business was to attend upon the king, and take charge of his weapons, especially his bows and arrows."* An Amazonian arm-bearer of this description also appears in the Vikramorvas'í, and Professor Wilson takes her to be either a Tartarian or a Bactrian woman. He observes: "A Yavaní, which is rather inexplicable. The Muhammadan princes had guards of African women in their harems, and the presence of female attendants in those of the Hindu sovereigns has also been adverted to; but the term Yavana has been applied by the later Hindus to the Muhammadans; and it is not likely that either Persian or Arabian women ever found their way into the inner apartments of Hindu princes, as personal attendants or guards. If, as has been supposed, Yavana formerly implied Greeks, it is equally impossible that Greek women should have fulfilled such an office, as few could have found their way to India, or even to Bactria; and those would have been, it may be supposed, too highly valued by their countrymen to have been suffered to act as slaves to barbarians. Perhaps Tartarian or Bactrian women may be intended."†

I believe few will dissent from this conclusion. Doubtless the Alexandrian invasion took place long before the time when the two dramatical works here noticed were composed, and their author was perfectly well aware of the character of the Greeks; but it would be doing a grave injustice to Kálidása to say that he so far transgressed the laws of poetical propriety and consistency as to attach Grecian damsels to the retinue of Dyushanta and Púraravas, two of the most ancient monarchs of the Indo-Aryan race. He could not possibly

* Translation of S'akuntalá, p. 35. † Hindu Theatre, II. p. 261.

have so far forgotten the legendary lore of his country as to suppose that the Greeks, who first came to India in 327 B. C., could be relegated to the Satyayuga or the golden age, without offending the sense of propriety and consistency of his readers.

Supposing, however, for the sake of argument, that he did so forget, and that, for the time, highly civilized and luxurious Greek women were better suited to serve as Amazonian armbearers than their rougher and more hardy sisterhood of Asia, still the question would arise, was there ever such a supply of Grecian damsels in India to afford opportunities to Hindu kings to employ them as their body-guards? When Alexander came to India, he had to satisfy himself with two Asiatic wives, Roxana the Bactrian, and Stratira the Persian, the former of whom bore him his only son, and his followers could not have been better off in this respect. His successors in Asia all made themselves independent, denying the supremacy of the Greek sovereignty in Europe. They had, therefore, very few opportunities to draw regularly on their mother-country for recruits, and consequently they had to depend partly on such adventurers as came in quest of fortune, and partly on the Eurasian descendants of the first-comers, supplementing them largely by the natives of the country over which they reigned, even as the European races did during the last three centuries in India. Some Greek women they doubtless had with them ; but looking to the numerical insignificance of the European women who came to India with the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French, and the English governors, commanders, officers, soldiers, merchants and adventurers during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, and the large number of Eurasians produced by the conquerors, and bearing in mind the fact that the means of transportation by modern ships are infinitely more convenient than travelling across wild and inhospitable coun-

tries was two thousand years ago, we may unhesitatingly conclude that at the time of Greek supremacy in North-Western India, the number of Greek women in this country or its neighbourhood was extremely limited; and that, like the latter, the Greeks during the three centuries immediately preceding the era of Christ, associated largely with the women of their conquered countries. And such having been the case, there could not have been such an abundance of Greek women as to afford a perennial source from which Hindu kings could draw their supplies, and, whether for recruits for their Amazonian guards or as odalisques, the women of Scythia, Bactria, Persia, and Afghánistán, the latter particularly, were always, comparatively, more easily available, and doubtless did yield their quota, and these, it may fairly be presumed, passed under the name of Yavanas. According to the Institutes of Baudháyana "he who partakes of beef, speaks much and that which is forbidden, neglects the established rules of conduct and of religious duty, is a Mlechchha,"* and as the word yavana is a synonymous term, the women aforesaid would very properly be called by that name It is not to be denied that in one instance a Greek lady was accepted as a bride by a Hindu sovereign. Megasthenes tells us that when Seleukos Nikator found that he was not in a position to overcome Sandrocotus whom he had come to assail, and concluded a treaty for peace and a present of five hundred elephants by ceding a part of his kingdom to the west of the Indus, he gave his daughter away in marriage to Chandragupta; but it was quite exceptional, and cannot be adduced as a proof in support of any general premise on the subject.

There is a passage in the Málavikágnimitra in which the

* गोमांसखादको यस्य विरुद्धं बहुभाषते ।
धर्म्माचारविहीनश्च म्लेच्छ इत्यभिधीयते ॥

hero of the piece Agnimitra, king of Vedisá, one of the Sunga sovereigns of Magadha, states that a horse, which his father Pushpamitra had let loose, preliminary to the celebration of a grand sacrifice, had, while roaming under the care of a hundred princes headed by Vasumitra, crossed the Indus, and that while grazing on the right bank of that river, a body of Yavana horsemen had attempted to seize it, and a sanguinary battle was the consequence."* Dr. Weber takes this to be a clear indication of the Greeks, who occupied the country after the invasion of Alexander; but there is no valid reason to suppose that the aggressors were really Greeks, and not one of the various marauding tribes who dwelt, and still dwell, on the right bank of the Indus along the Sulaimán range. At best it is a case of *post hoc propter hoc*, which does not in any way solve the question at issue.

Kálidása, in the fourth book of the Raghuvañs'a, carries, the victorious prince Raghu to the country of the Persians (Párasikas), where the prince, overpowdered by the radiant lotus-like eyes of the Yavana damsels, fought the Persians, and scattered their bearded and moustachioed heads over the earth ; his soldiers then spread their carpets under shady vineyards and caroused on grape wine.† Here Kálidása

* योऽसौ राजयज्ञदीक्षितेन मया राजपुत्रशतपरिवृतं वसुमित्रं गोप्तारमादिश्य वत्सराय निवर्त्तनीयो निर्गलतुरङ्गमो विसर्जितः । स सिन्धोर्दक्षिणं रोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनेन प्रार्थितः । तत उभयो सेनयो महानासीत् सम्मर्दः ।

† पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूंस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥ ६० ॥
यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदयः ॥ ६१ ॥
संग्रामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पाश्चात्यैरश्वसाधनैः ।
शार्ङ्गकूजितविज्ञेय प्रतियोधे रजस्यभूत् ॥६२॥
भल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुलैर्महीम् ।
तस्तार सरघा व्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव ॥६३॥

makes the Yavanís the wives of the Persians, and, bearing in mind the fact that the Hellenes of the post-Alexandrian period did not tolerate any hirsute appendages to the face, and the husbands of the Yavanís were all bearded and moustachioed, it is impossible to conclude that his Yavanís were "Greeks and Greeks only."

A king of Mithilá is described in the third chapter of the Das'akumára-charita to have laid a scheme for defrauding a Yavana merchant of a valuable diamond which he had for sale.* The name of the merchant was, according to some MSS., Khaniti, and according to others, Svabhiti; but Professor Wilson suspects neither is correct. The story cannot be later than the seventh century, and at the time a Greek merchant was the least likely person to be met with in Tirhut, and Professor Wilson very properly takes the circumstance to be a proof of "the intercourse of foreign traders, Arabs or Persians, with India before the Muhammadan conquest."† Lassen also admits that "the word Yavana did apply to the Muhammadan Arabians at the time of their commerce with India."‡

In the Harsha-charita, Bána states that a reader whom he entertained, used to recite for his diversion the *Yavana-prayata-puráṇa,* which Mr. Hall justly observes, "Colonel Wilford would have pronounced to be the Iliad, or the Odyssey."§ But, having neither the "etymological courage" of

अपनीतशिरस्त्राणाः शेषास्तं शरणं ययुः ।
प्रणिपातप्रतीकारः संरम्भो हि महात्मनाम् ॥६४॥
विनयन्ते स्म तद् योधा मधुभिर्विजयश्रमम् ।
आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ॥६५॥
४ सर्गः ।

* Wilson's Ed., text p., III.

† Ibid, Preface, p. 13.

‡ Indische Alterthumskunde, p. 730.

§ Hall's Vasavadattá, Preface, p. 12.

that gentleman, nor the historical intrepidity of some of his successors, I can make nothing of it.

The Smṛitis refer to the Yavanas very frequently, and denounce association with them at table as highly sinful; but they afford no information which can be of use in identifying the Yavanas, except that they hold the Mlechchhas and Yavanas to be the same, and that expiations for associating with them should be alike. I shall, therefore, refrain from quoting from them. The word Yavana, in some sense or other, is also common enough in modern works; but it is not worth while citing passages from them, as they cannot be adduced as proofs in any way. I believe what has been written above, will suffice to show that in Sanskrit literature, the word in question has been used, primarily to indicate a particular nation, or race, or tribe, on the west of Kandahár, and secondarily to designate the western races generally; and that this interpretation will apply to every passage in Sanskrit works in which the word has been used, and that without a single exception.

I will now turn to the second argument set forth at the beginning of this article. There is no question whatever as to the accuracy of that part of Prinsep's reading of the As'oka edicts of Girnár and Dhauli, supported as it is by the concurrent testimony of Wilson's reading of the Kapurdagiri inscription, in which Antiochus Theus of Syria is named a "yona rájá;" and that 'yona' is the Páli form of the Sanskrit Yavana is evident from the repeated use of that term in the Páli Buddhistical annals of Ceylon in that sense. The only question, therefore, that has to be decided is whether the word *yona* in the passage has been used specifically to mean a Greek, or generically as a man of the western nation?

If we accept the first branch of the alternative, we find that in the thirteenth tablet* Antiyoko (Antiochus Theus,

* Journal, R. As. Soc., XII., p. 225.

king of Syria) is described to be a Yona king; but Ptolemaios* (Turamáyo), Antigonus (Antikona), Magas (Mako or Magá), and Alexander (Alikasunari) are not so called; and this would show that Syria and the countries to the east of it as far as Afghánistán, the greater portion of which Antiochus owned were embraced by the term Yona, but neither Greece nor Egypt. It is not a little remarkable that, if Yona really meant a Greek and none but a Greek, Alexander, *the* Greek of Greeks to the Indians, should not have had that epithet assigned him. It can hardly be said that the 'yona' in the inscription is intended to indicate the nationality of Antiochus, and not the name of his acquired dominion, for the word in the sentence qualifies the term rájá and not the proper name; besides yavana primarily is the name of a country, and only secondarily the designation of the inhabitants thereof. The propriety of the second branch of the alternative may be objected to by the query, if the word yona be a generic term, why should it not have been applied to all the western kings referred to? It may, however, be said in explanation of this objection that the inscription gives prominence to Antiochus, an ally who overcame the others, and the latter, therefore, could be allowed to go without any epithet. Prinsep, in his translation of the inscription in question, has "the four kings of Egypt," but there is no word in the text which could be taken as equivalent to the name of the land of the Pharaohs, and the kings named were certainly not all kings of the same place. In

* It is worthy of note here that if Turamáya be the correct Páli rendering of Ptolemaios, Dr. Weber's assumption of Maya, the Danava of the Mahábhárata, being also a version of the same name, would require to be modified. The omission of the first two syllables of the name in Sanskrit cannot be easily accounted for. It is true that the learned Doctor writes Asura Maya; but the first term is an adjective, and cannot be accepted as an integral part of the second, standing in the place of the first two syllables of Ptolemaios. For farther remarks on this subject see *ante* I., pp. 37 f.

either case, the passage in question does not in any way support the assumption of Dr. Kern that the word yavana means "a Greek and a Greek only." The passage, however, is an important one, and calls for a more thorough examination.

It is, I belive, unquestionable that Alexander called himself a Macedonian. Arrian says he belonged to οἱ Μακεδόνες or Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἕλληνες, generally the former: Plutarch always calls him a Macedonian. Now, Chandragupta waited on Alexander on the other side of the Indus, and was perfectly familiar with the history of that sovereign. A few years afterwards, he married a Greek bride, the daughter of Seleukos Nikator, and had a Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, in his court for several years. We know not whether his son Vindusára was born of this Greek lady or not. If we assume that he was, he would be half a Greek by birth, and his son As'oka, three-fourth Hindu and one-fourth Greek. But denying the consanguinity of As'oka, it would be in the last degree inconsistent to suppose that he was other than thoroughly cognisant of the proper name of the Greeks and of the history of the Macedonian invasion, from which he was so little removed by time, and in which his grandfather took so prominent a part. And such being the case, it is to be expected that he should, when describing persons of the race of his grandmother, in a state document of great importance, call them by their proper tribal or race name; but this he does not. On the contrary, instead of calling them Macedonians, or Hellenes, he styles one of them a yona, and that one is the sovereign of a country which, according to the Vishṇu Puráṇa, was situated to the west of the Indus, but not so far out as Greece. This would naturally suggest the inference that he did so with special reference to the country, and not to the nationality of the individual; or it may be that he used a generic term in the same way in which the classical writers of Greece and Rome used to employ the

term "barbarian," or the Chinese now do the phrase "outside barbarian." Yavana has been so used in this country from a long time, and its definition shows that it may be so employed with great propriety. In the present day, when the Hindus have to indicate any particular nationality, they use their proper names; thus they have *Ingrej* for English, *Farási** for the French, *Portukes* for the Portuguese, *Dinámár* for the Danes, *Olandáj* for the Dutch (Hollanders), *Ellemár* for the Germans (from the French 'Allemands'), &c.; but when they speak of them generally, they call them Yavans or Mlechchhas, and there is no reason to suggest the idea that this did not happen in the time of As'oka, and also long before his time.

Again, there is a strong tendency in specific names gradually to expand according as the circle of knowledge of the persons using them widens, and to become generic. This is quite as true of the common terms of a language as of proper names; but to confine my attention for the present to the latter, I find the people of Persia and western Afghánistán knew their neighbours to their east as the dwellers of the valley of Sindh, or Sindhu, which by an aspiration became Hindu, and by a subsequent process of cockneyism India; and now and for at least two thousand three hundred years, that word has indicated the whole of the peninsula of India, and for a long time also the Burman peninsula or "India beyond the Ganges." To the south-west of Persia, the nearest neighbours of the Iranians were the tribe of Banú Tai, and all the Arabian tribes are now to the Persians the Táí race. The nearest to France was the pro-

* The word Firingi comes fom the French 'Franc,' through the Arabs and the Persians who pronounce it Firang. When the Spaniards and the Portuguese first came to India they were called Firang, and the error was never after rectified. It is now used to indicate the mixed descendants of Europeans. In the Vidyásundara of Bháratachandra, Firingi stands for the Portuguese, and Farásh for the French.

vince of the Allemani, and the German nation now are to the French the Allemands. A small province to the north-east of India was China, and the whole of China has now the same name. Káthái, again, was only a province or small country to the east of Tartary, and the whole of China is to Persian, Mongol, and Turkish writers Khatá, whence the English Cathay, which has only recently become obsolete. To the south-east of Bengal, near Chittagong, a small tribe bore the name of Mags, and the whole of the people of Burmah is now, in the language of Bengal, indicated by the same name. Banga originally was a small tract on the east of the Gangetic delta; it is now the name of entire Bengal. Applying this principle to Yavana, we find it originally, *i. e.*, in the time of Páṇini, who was a native of Kandahár, applied to a western country, probably Assyria—possibly Persia, or Media. When the Hindus receded to this side of the Indus, it was applied to some undefined country immediately to the west of the Indus; and lastly, it became the name of all western people from Sindh to England. It doubtless meant 'the casteless people'; but it was not necessarily an opprobrious term, and in a verse, quoted by Colebrooke from the Siddhánta of Varáhamihira, the Yavanas, although Mlechchhas, are said to be honoured as ṛishis, because they have the science of astronomy amongst them.* Such a term could be very appropriately employed by As'oka to indicate his ally. In the time of his grandfather, a part of Arachotia was included in India, and Persia was well-known by a separate name, so the western country then most probably meant Assyria and the country to the west of it, that is Arabia, and possibly as far as Syria, or further still, though the authority under notice does not justify the assumption. At any rate,

* म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितं ।
ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किम्पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः ॥
Colebrooke's Essays, II., p. 410.

I fail to perceive how the passage can be adduced as a proof that Yona meant "a Greek and a Greek only."

The third argument would be of considerable importance if it could be shown that Hindus borrowed any portion of their astronomy directly from the Greeks. This, however, cannot be done. The proofs usually adduced are founded on mere hypotheses and conjectures, and most of them are not to the point. It is undeniable, for instance, that the Hindu signs of the zodiac bear a close similitude to those of Greek astronomers, but, it being quite uncertain who were the borrowers and who the lenders, it can serve no purpose one way or the other. Supposing we admit Dr. Weber's conjecture that the Hindus got them from the Greeks, still the question will not be advanced in the least, for it would not prove that 'yona' meant a Greek. The same may be said of the Drekkánas or regents of one-third of a planetary sign,—the Decanii of European astrologers,—as also of other terms bearing close similitude to Greek words of like import. Dr. Weber notices the following astronomical terms as of Greek origin; *viz. anaphá*—ἀναφη, *ákokera*—αἰγοκερως, *apoklima*—ἀποχλιμα, *ára*—Ἀρης, *ásphujit*—Ἀφροδιτη, *ittham (itthasi* Dr. Bháu Dáji; *ithusi* Muir)—ἰχθυς, *kendra*—κεντρον, *kemadruma*—χρηματισμος, *kona*—κρονος, *trikona*—τριγωνος, *kaurpya*—σκορπιος, *kriya*—κριος, *jámitra*—διαμετρον, *jituma*—διδυμος, *júka*—ζυγον, *jyau*—Ζευς, *távuri*—ταυρος, *taukshika*—τοξοτης, *drikána drekána*—δεκανος, *durudhará*—δορυφορια, *dus'chikya*—τυχικον, *dyúnam dyutam* δυτον, *panaphará*—ἐπαναφορα, *páthena*—παρθενος,, *mesúrana*—μεσουρανημα, *liptá*—λεπτη, *rihpha rishphá*—ριφη, *leya*—λεων, *vesi*—φασις, *sunaphá*—συναφη, *harija*—ὁριζων, *hibuka*—ὑπογειον, *himna.* (perhaps *himra ?*)—Ἑρμης, *heli*—Ἡλιος, *hridroga*—ὑδροχοος, *horá*—ὡρα. Some of these, however, are formed with well-known and ancient Sanskrit roots, and retain the meanings which they originally had, and still have, as common terms of the language, and they can no more be adduced as proofs of the Hindus having borrowed them from the Greeks, than any number of

common words can be put forth as proofs of the Sanskrit language having been borrowed from the same source. Take for instance, the word *júka* from the root *yuj* to join ; if we may accept it as a proof of its being Greek from its resemblance to ζυγον, what is there to prevent our believing it to have been derived from any other European language from its resemblance in sound and sense to the English, *yoke*, the Saxon *geoc*, Danish *juk*, Swedish *ok*, French *joug*, Italian *gîogo*, Spanish *yugo*, Latin *jugam*, or Russian *igo?* Again *Trikoṇa* is formed of *tri* three and *koṇa* 'an angle' or 'corner,' both old and well-known Sanskrit words, and I see no reason why we should call it an importation from the Greek language. Doubtless, the equivalent of *tri* in Greek is τρες and of *koṇa* γονια ; but for the Sanskrit *tri* we have Saxon *thres*, Swedish *tre*, German *drei*, French *trois*, Italian *tre*, and Spanish and Latin *tres*, and for the Sanskrit, *kona*, French, *cona*, Italian *cono*, Spanish *cono*, and Latin *conus* ; and the argument urged against the Greek origin of *júka* applies to this with equal force. The same may be said of some of the other words. The fact is that technical terms being specialised common words, and Sanskrit being derived from the Aryan language, the mother of all the European languages named above, a great number of common words as well as technical terms must be closely similar in all of them ; but such similitude cannot be accepted as a proof of any one of those languages having been derived from another of them.

Doubtless some of the terms are very like Greek, and may be Greek for aught we know to the contrary ; the mediæval names of some of the signs of the Zodiac, such as *Tuvarí* for Taurus, *Leya* for Leo, are very probably so ; but they are insufficient by themselves to prove the fact that they were taken directly from the Greeks by the Hindus. On the contrary, seeing that the intercourse of the Hindus and the Arabs dates from a very early period ; that the latter borrowed the

system of Nakshatras,* or lunar asterisms or mansions—the *manázil* of the Arabs, from the Hindus ; that Hindu authors are quoted by Arab writers ; that Arabic technical terms are pretty frequently used by the Hindus ; and that the Arabs translated largely both from Greek and Hindu astronomical works, the presumption would be strong that the Hindus got such of their Greek astronomical terms as can be proved to be unquestionably of Greek origin through the medium of the Arabs, and not directly from the Greeks. There is no separate distinct word for Greece or the Greeks in the Sanskrit language, and it has been shown that the term Yavana applies to the Arabs in common with others, and therefore no reliable conclusion can be drawn from the fact of its being used to indicate foreign terms or authors.

Next come the names of four Greek authors, whose works, it is said, the Hindus translated. The first of these is known to Sanskrit writers by the name of Yavanácharya, literally 'a Yavan professor,' or Javanes'vara, the 'Yavana lord.' Dr. Kern says, Utpala calls him Sphujidhvaja, which some one has "translated, in the manner of Bottom, into S'ucidhvaja." The Dr. himself confesses he cannot see what Sphujidhvaja represents, but he adds the query. "Is it Aphrodisius?"† Whoever he was, his work as now extant, bears no internal evidence of its being a translation from the Greek, or of its being of any antiquity, and, under the circumstance, it would be more appropriate to call him an Arab than a Greek. His work being modern, and this is acknow-

* Dr. Weber is of opinion that the system of Nakshatras was originated by the Chaldeans, and from them it went on the one side to the Hindus, and on the other to the Arabs. M. Biot holds that the Chinese *sieus* are the prototypes of the Hindu asterisms. Professor Max Müller repudiates this *in toto*, and maintains that the Hindus originated the system, and from them the Arabs and the Chinese got it. The subject, however, is of no importance in connexion with the object of this paper.

† Vrihat Sañhitá, preface, p. 48.

ledged by Dr. Kern, he may have been a Pársí, or Muhammadan of Central Asia.

The next name is that of Pulisha, whose work is often named "Paulisha Siddhánta." The work is no longer extant, but it has been referred to by several astronomers and their commentators. Dr. Kern says "in a MS. of the commentary on Brihat Sañhitá, it (the name Pulisha) has been corrected by some *lepidum caput* into Pulastya, and such qausi-corrections are very common."* Elsewhere he states: "Amongst the 18 authorities whose names occur in the opening lines of the so-called Náradí Sañhitá, we find a Yavana, a Paulastya, and a Romaça. All three names are blunders; there is not one Yavana only, but there are many, the word is never used in the singular in any other work of some value. Farther, Paulastya is in sundry MSS. a quasi-corrected form for Pauliça (Siddhánta)."† Pulasti or Pulastya is the name of one of the earliest sages. He is reckoned among the seven great rishis who were transformed into the seven stars of the Pléiades, and the association of his name with an astronomical or astrological work, whether his composition or not, is certainly not remarkable. The word Pulisha also is by no means such as to preclude the possibility of our accepting it as a Sanskrit term; derived from the root *pul* 'to be great' with the affix *kvip*, and *ish* 'to pervade' with the affix *k*, it would make a correct Sanskrit word meaning 'one who pervades greatness,' or one worthy of honour, and as such may well pass as the name of a saint. Pulisha, again, is the Prákṛit form of the word Purusha, and as such may also pass for a good Indian name. Drs. Weber and Kern, however, are not satisfied with it in its Sanskrit form, and take it to be Greek. The latter, when first entering into the question, expresses himself with some indecision thus: "The name of its author Puliça points clearly to a foreigner, a Greek, or Roman; Albi-

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* Brihat Sañhitá, Preface, p. 48. † Ibid., p. 40.

rúní calls him Paules, the Greek, and gives the name of the Greek's birth-place in a form which seems corrupt. His testimony is, of course, the testimony of the Hindu astronomers at his time, and there is not the slightest reason to doubt its accuracy."* The train of his reasoning, however, soon overcomes his caution, and at the end of half a page he emphatically declares "that Puliça was a Greek, I do not doubt for a moment, notwithstanding that the Pauliça-siddhánta, judging from quotations, and rather numerous ones, is so thoroughly Hinduised that few or no traces of its Greek origin are left." "It may be deemed," he continues, "a trace of foreign origin that Puliça calls "solar" *(saura)* time, what otherwise is called "civil" *(sávana)* time, or as Utpala puts and exemplifies it, "what with us is 'civil time' is with Pauliça-Áchárya 'solar time,' a solar day being with him the interval from midnight till midnight or from sunrise to sunset. We should meet, perhaps, with a few more traces of Greek influence, if we had the whole work before us, but nobody who is acquainted with the Hindu mind would ever expect a translation."†

Again, "to return to the Pauliça Siddhánta, it must have existed, like some of the other Siddhántas, in two editions. All the quotations from it are again in Áryá, which to my mind renders it probable that it was not long, say, at the utmost, 100 years, prior to Áryabhaṭa and Varáhamihira. Now it is interesting that Utpala quotes a Mûla-Puliça-Siddhánta, an "original Puliça Siddhánta," and that this time the verse is in Anushṭubh. It is only one verse, but quite enough to prove that even this "original work had been adapted to the exigencies of Hindu science, for it gives the number of revolutions of the fixed stars during the Four Ages."‡

To summarize these remarks,—we have a few quotations from a work which is no longer extant ; these quotations are so thoroughly Hinduised that they bear no mark to indicate

* Brihat Sañhitá, preface, p. 48. † Ibid., p. 49. ‡ Ibid., p. 50.

that they are not indigenous; they are not translations; but because they refer to solar time which, though well-known from comparatively very olden time by the Hindus, and is by far the most natural division of time, suggesting itself to even the most uncultured intellect, corresponds with the Greek solar time, and because the Doctor will "perhaps meet with a few more traces of Greek influence" in those quotations when better acquainted with them, he has not only "no doubt for a moment" that their author "Puliça was a Greek," but he summarily denounces the authenticity of those MSS. which write the name Pulastya and not Pulisha. This is a process of ratiocination which, I regret, I cannot appreciate. To my mind it has very much the appearance of forcing facts to subserve the purposes of a theory. The authority of Albirúní on the subject amounts to the mode in which the Sanskrit name is written in Arabic letters, and, bearing in mind the fact how Indian names get transmogrified in the Semitic character, may be set aside as of little import. That he called Pulisha a Greek on the authority of his Hindu informers, and not on that of a conjecture of his own, is at best a gratuitous assumption. I have nothing to say against the theory of two recensions of Pulastya's work; but I hope I may be permitted to ask, if a single verse suffices to settle the question, how many recensions of the Vṛihat Sañhitá would one be called upon to assume, had that work existed only in quotations, seeing that though its hundred and five chapters are written principally in the Áryá metre, they have interspersed in them verses in several different metres?

Dr. Weber goes further than Dr. Kern, and at once recognises in Pulastya *vel* Puliça, the author of the *Eisagoge*, Paulus Alexandrinus. Dr. Weber does not say that he has better evidence at command than what Dr. Kern had, and under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he cannot have,

and his assumption, therefore, is even more noteworthy than that of Dr. Kern ; but what is most remarkable in the case is, that the latter, though a former pupil and generally a faithful follower of the learned Professor, withholds his assent to the identification. He says—

"Weber's surmise is scarcely admissible ; for the passage alluded to will be found in all works on Nativity almost literally the same, because it is a simple enumeration of the mansions and their lords ; two lists, if their contents are the same, cannot differ in form, nor can they be said to bear greater resemblance to each other than to other lists containing the same. Besides, there is no indication that Balabhadra has taken the passage from Puliça, which must be established before any conclusion can be drawn. The strongest argument, however, against the supposition is the fact that the Puliça-siddhánta is no work on Nativity, but an astronomical work, in which the original of the passage in Balabhadra could not find a place. It may be that, besides the Pauliça Siddhánta, there existed another work of Pauliça's on Nativity, but nobody has made any notice of it, and unless Paulus Alexandrinus has written, beside his Eisagoge, a book on astronomy, which again is unknown, we have no right whatever to infer that he and Puliça are one and the same ; for identity of name is to me slender ground, especially when the name happens to be a common one."* It is a pity this maxim was not borne in mind by the learned Doctor when dealing with the term *Jaones*. In the case of that term similitude of sound alone has sufficed to set aside all other considerations.

It is not for me to decide this vexed question, nor is this the place for it ; suffice it to say that if the work of Pulas'tya or Puliça has been so written as not to retain any trace of its foreign origin, and the old Hindus did not translate the quota-

* Brihat Sañhitá, preface, p. 49.

tions, it cannot be called Greek. Pulisha is nowhere called a Yavana by the Hindus, and, if it be acknowledged on the authority of Albirúní that he was a Yavana, his birth-place Alexandria would take us to Egypt, and not to Greece.

The next name on my list is Maṇittha. Of him Dr. Kern says: "A curious name is Maṇittha, whom Weber suspects to be Manetho, the author of the Apotelesmata. I thought for a moment of Manilius, but, after all, Weber's conjecture is decidedly more plausible. Maṇittha, that is the book, being of foreign origin would seem to be countenanced by the fact that in one of his opinions he agreed with the "ancient Greeks," and disagrees with Satya and Varáhamihira. If I had been able to get the Apotelesmata, I should have compared the quotations from Maṇittha. It will be always worth while doing so, although it is not to be expected that the marked and especial coincidences will be numerous and conclusive. In the same manner as a few traditions sufficed to enable Hindu astrologers to father the children of their own brains on their holy sages, so I strongly suspect, they also did with the more renowned of the Greek astrologers. The notion of the productions of a man's mind being his property, a notion carried to such a ridiculous extent in Europe, was unknown to them. Unhappily, the opposite extreme they fell into, is much more pernicious. In Maṇittha, as quoted by Utpala, there is an extremely absurd passage where the author ascribes antiquity to himself! '*Iti brumas cirantanáh;*' that shows the spirit."*

I need add nothing to this to show that the name does not help us in any way to prove that the Hindus translated works on astronomy or astrology directly from Greek texts, or that Yavana meant a "Greek and a Greek only."

The last name I have to notice is Ptolemaios. He is nowhere mentioned in Hindu astronomy or astrology, and

* Brihat Sañhitá, preface, p. 52.

the only question is as to whether the Hindus borrowed the idea of the armillary sphere from that of Ptolemy, or not. With reference to it, I cannot do better than quote here the remarks of Colebrooke, the highest authority on the subject. He says: "They may have either received or given the hint of an armillary sphere as an instrument of an astronomical observation, but certainly they have not copied the instrument which was described by Ptolemy, for the construction differs considerably."* It may be added that the Almagest of Ptolemy was severally translated, epitomised, and revised by the Arabs,† and the Hindus might have got their knowledge of that work from those versions, even as Hindu boys now-a-days familiarise themselves with the history and literature of ancient Greece from English and vernacular translations, without knowing a word of Greek. As no translation of, or quotations from, the Almagest are, however, to be met with in Sanskrit, the name of Ptolemy, or resemblances to his doctrines, if ever met with, may be accounted for more reasonably in a different way. The name of the Almagest, beginning with the Arabic article *al*, shows that it was written by one who was thoroughly imbued with Arabic learning, and probably drew largely from it, and as the Hindus, after having largely contributed to the store of Arab astronomy, acknowledge to have drawn largely on the Arabs for astromical facts, we have one common source whence both Ptolemy and the Hindus derived their knowledge of those facts, and their mutual similitude is therefore natural. And the argument which applies to Ptolemy would apply equally to all the rest, whenever it can be shown, and this can be done often, that there are similitudes between Greek and Hindu astronomical terms and theories.

I have already shown that the locale of the Yavana country as given in Sanskrit literary or quasi-historical

* Essays, p. 345. † Loc. cit., et p. 472.

works, is extremely uncertain. The same uncertainty obtains in astronomical works, in which a greater precision was to have been expected; thus, according to Parás'ara, Yavana lies to the southwest of Madhyades'a, and taking the latter to be Mathurá or the Sauraseni country, we should have to look for it in Balochistán. Varáhamihira adopts this direction. He says, "In the south-western direction (from the 'midland' Mathurá) are the following tracts: *viz.*, Palhavas, Kámbojas, Sindhu-Sauviras Vaḍavámukhas, Áravas, Ambashṭhas, Kapilas, Návimukhas, Púrasaras, Anartas, Phenagiri, the Yavanas, &c.," (Bṛihat Sañhitá, Journal R. A. S. N. S. V. 84). Elsewhere he describes Yavanapura, the capital of that country, to have been 60° to the west of the meridian of Lánka. This would take us to the meridian of the Libyan Desert. "Rome was, however," according to Dr. Kern, "supposed to be 90 degrees west from the meridian of Lánka, so that the longitude of Yavanapura is two-thirds of that of Rome, and this, however erroneously the absolute longitude is given, suits approximately the situation of Alexandria, which accordingly may be understood by Yavanapura."* In a foot-note to this passage he adds: "So far as the longitude is concerned, Constantinople would answer as well as Alexandria, but I am not aware that any astronomer drew his first meridian over Constantinople, and without that it would not be taken as a point of departure." This inference is, however, contradicted by a passage in the *Milindapanna*, a Páli Buddhistical work of Ceylon, in which Milinda, *alias* Menander, who is said to be a Yona king, is made to state that he was born at *Kalasi* in Alasadda=Alexandria, which was two hundred yojanas or 800 miles from *Sagal* where he reigned, and which was twelve yojanas or 48 miles to the west of Káshmír†.

* Bṛihat Sañhitá, preface, p. 54.

† D' Alwis, Introduction to Káchcháyana's Grammar, p. XLII.

Both these places are mentioned in the same sentence by Isiodorus—"et Sigal urbs, ubi regia Sacarum propeque Alexandria urbs et non procul Alexandriapolis urbs." The Maháva ñsa makes Alasadda, the capital of the Yona country. Now, 848 miles would barely represent 12° 20′ to the west of Káshmír, and take us only to the eastern side of Persia. But whether this Yavanapura be Alexandria, or Constantinople, or a town in Persia, we do not get to Greece, and the word Yavana must, therefore, be taken to mean either Egypt, Arabia, or Persia.

I have very little to say with reference to the fourth argument. It is not my intention, and in fact it is impossible, to deny that, apart from the similitude which results in the languages of the Hindus and the Grecians from the circumstance of the two races having sprung from the same source, there has been extensive interchange of terms between them as the immediate result of Greek supremacy in North-western India soon after Alexander's invasion, and of direct and indirect commercial intercourse between the two nations for some time. Such supremacy and intercourse imply that the natives of this country had a name for their foreign rulers; but whether it was the generic term Yavana, or the specific Hellenes, Macedonian, or Greek, we know not,—probably, the first, but the Greek terms current in the Sanskrit language do not help us to prove it, and it is unnecessary therefore to dwell upon the subject.

As far as we can judge from the facts above set forth, the only conclusions which would be consistent and tenable are—

1st. That originally the term Yavana was the name of a country and of its people to the west of Kandahár,—which may have been Arabia, or Persia, or Medea, or Assyria,—probably the last.

2nd. That subsequently it became the name of all those places.

3rd. That at a later date it indicated all the casteless races to the west of the Indus, including the Arabs and the Asiatic Greeks and the Egyptians.

4th. That the Indo-Greek kings of Afghánistán were also probably indicated by the same name.

5th. That there is not a tittle of evidence to show that it was at any one time the exclusive name of the Greeks.

6th. That it is impossible now to infer from the use of the term Yavana the exact nationality indicated in Sanskrit works.

These are doubtless very unsatisfactory conclusions to arrive at after a protracted disquisition. To the public, so loath to suspend its judgment in any one question, nothing is more abhorrent than the admission that it does not know; but suspension of judgment pending further enquiry, or admission of ignorance, or a cautious reserve, or an attitude of scepticism, if the reader chooses to call it so, is, I believe, more conducive to the elucidation of truth than hasty generalizations which tend only to enlarge the dominion of error.

XIII.

ON THE PÁLA AND THE SENA DYNASTIES OF BENGAL.

Bhágalpur plate of Náráyaṇa Pála, its contents. Mungher plate Budál Pillar. Sárnáth stone. Nálandá stone. Minor inscriptions. The Ain i Akbari and Táranátha's lists. List of all the Pálas known. Reconciliation of differences. Date of the Pálas. Averages. The religion of the Pálas. The extent of their dominion. The Sena Rájás. Buddha Gayá inscription. Bákarganj plate. Sundarbun plate. Denájpur plate. Chittagong plate. Rájsháhi stone. Adisura, Vallála Sena, Lakshmaṇa Sena. Lakshmaṇeya. Dates Lakshmaṇa Sena era. Religion of the Senas. Their caste. Relation of the Senas to the Pálas.

THE Asiatic Society of Bengal has lately received from Mr. Smith, of Bhágalpur, a copper-plate of one of the Pála Kings of Bengal. It measures 15·5· × 12·7. inches, and has a scalloped top, 6 inches high, and 6·5 long at the base. The centre of the top, is enclosed in a circle, 3 inches in diameter, and around it is a band of lotus petals. The legend in the centre is a wheel mounted on a stand, and supported by a deer *rampant* on each side—a well-known Buddhist symbol. Below this is the name of Náráyaṇa-pála Deva, and below that a sprig formed of a flower and two leaves. The front of the plate is surrounded by a border line, but on the reverse this does not occur. The inscription in front extends to 29 lines, of which the first four are broken in the middle by the base of the scalloped top, which covers the plate to the depth of 2 inches. On the reverse there are 25 lines of inscription. The plate is thick, and in a fair state of preservation. The letters are of the Kuṭila type.

The record opens with a stanza in praise of Go-pála, who was a devout Buddhist, and a follower of Sugata. His son

and immediate successor was Dharma-pála. The latter had a brother named Vák-pála, who lived under his sway. On his death Deva-pála the eldest son of his brother succeeded him. Vák-pála had a second son named Jaya-pála, who is said to have brought Orissa and Allahabad under his brother's government. On the death of Deva-pála, Vigraha-pála, the son of Jaya-pála, came to the throne. Vigraha-pála married Lajjá of the Haihaya race, and had by her a son, named Náráyaṇa-pála. The last, as the reigning sovereign, is spoken of in the highest terms of praise; but the only noticeable work of his described in the record is a bridge of boats across the Ganges near Mungher. In the 17th year of his reign, on the 9th of Vais'ákha, when this prince was encamped near Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, he presented the village of Mukatika for the support of S'iva Bhaṭṭáraka and his followers. The donee appears to have been a Hindu, and the gift was made with a view to assist him in offering *charu* and *bali* to a divinity named Sahasráksha, and also for the dispensation of medicines to the sick, and food and shelter to the indigent. The record was composed by Bhaṭṭa Gurava, the minister who erected the Budál pillar, and engraved by Meghadása, son of Subhadása. The genealogical table deducible from this record may be thus arranged:

I. Go-pála

II. Dharma-pála——Vák-pála

III. Deva-pála——Jaya-pála

IV. Vigraha-pála

V. Náráyaṇa-pála.

The genealogy here given is apparently not in accord with what has been hitherto known to be the family tree of

the Pálas, and, in order to elucidate the history of the Pálas, it is necessary to advert to certain records, already published, relating to some of the sovereigns of the family. General Cunningham, in his Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III., has already noticed them at length; but some of the facts contained in them require to be further discussed.

The first inscription brought to the notice of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was a copper-plate grant of one of the Pála Rájás of Bengal. It had been discovered among some ruins at Mungher, and translated by Sir Charles Wilkins, in 1781, three years before the foundation of the Society. The translation was published in the first volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' (pp. 122, *et seq.*,) but without any facsimile or transcript of the original. The original is lost, and so many doubtful points in it cannot now be solved. It opens with the name of Go-pála, a pious king, who acted according to what is written in the S'ástra,and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper tenets. His religion is not mentioned; but he was evidently a Buddhist, for the document begins with a comparison between him and Sugata Buddha, the allusion to the S'ástra being intended either to imply his tolerant character, or to the scriptures of the Buddhists. His son, Dharma-pála, seems to have died while engaged in a marauding excursion towards the Himálaya. The circumstance is explained by his panegyrist in the following manner: "He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good, and happily his salvation was effected at the same time, for his servants visited Kedár, and drank milk according to the law, and they offered up their vows where the Ganges joins the ocean, and at Gokarṇa and other places." It is scarcely likely that the king had ever exercised any power in those places. His accomplished wife, Kanna Deví, bore him a son, Prince Deva-pála, who succeeded his father in the kingdom "even as Bodhisattva succeeded Sugata." His name occurs as "the lord

of the land" in a Buddhist inscription found in a mound near Pesserawa in Behar.* His conquests, according to the chronicler, extended from the source of the Ganges to Adam's bridge, including the Vindhya and Kámboja countries; but probably it did not in reality stretch much beyond the Vindhyan range. The conquest of Kamboja evidently had no firmer basis than the imagination of the poet. When encamped at Mudgagiri, modern Mungher, this prince, on the 21st day of Márgas'irs'a, (November—December,) in the 33rd year of his reign, bestowed the town of Misika in Krimila, a department of S'rínagara, modern Patna, to one Bodha Bhikshurata Mis'ra. The imprecations against the resumption of the grant are given in the usual Puráṇic style.

Soon after a second monument of that dynasty was found at Budál in Dinájpur, and also translated by Sir Charles Wilkins. It was a record inscribed on a stone pillar, by order of a minister of one of the Pála Rájás. As in the last case so in this the translation was published in the 'Asiatic Researches' (Vol. I, pp. 131. *et seq.*,) without any text. But a plate was added, giving a front and a side view of the pillar and a specimen of the character of the inscription. Sir William Jones was not satisfied with either of these translations, and appended to them some explanatory notes. A revised transcript and translation of the last, however, has since been published by Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosha,† and all doubts regarding the original have now been removed. This inscription was put up by a minister of Náráyaṇa-pálá who recorded the merits of his ancestors, who seem to have been all officers of the Pála family. Trusting to the wisdom of one of them, the chronicler states, "The king of Gauḍa for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Utkala (Orissa), of the Hunnas of humbled pride, of the kings of Draviḍa and Gurjara, whose glory was reduced, and

* Journal, As. Soc., XVII, p.493. † Ibid. XLIII, pt. I., pp. 356f.

the universal sea-girt throne." Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosha has thus summarised the historical results of this record.

I. Sáṇḍilya.

II. Víradeva.

III. Pánchála.

IV. Garga, married Ichchhá.

V. S'rí Darbhapáni, minister of Deva-pála, married Sárkará.

VI. Somes'vara Mis'ra, married Taralá.

VII. Kedárnátha Mis'ra, married Badhvá of Devagráma, Sura-pála, contemporary.

VIII. Gurava Mis'ra, minister of Náráyana-pála.

The third record was found at Sárnáth, near Banáras. It was inscribed on a stone, and a facsimile transcript and a translation of it were published in the fifth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches.' It contained the names of four members of the dynasty under notice, *viz.*, Mahi-pála, Sthira-pála, Vasanta-pála, and Kumára-pála ; but the record was throughout so corrupt, and the reading so manifestly incorrect, that no reliance whatever could be placed on it for purposes of historical deduction. The stone was not forthcoming early in this century ; but General Cunningham pointed out to Major Kittoe, the probability that the original stone would be found somewhere about the tank of Diwán Jagat Siñha in the city of Benáres, which was constructed entirely of stones removed from Sárnáth. After a short search the latter found it. "The inscription was recorded", says General Cunningham, "on the base of a squatted figure of Buddha, which was broken at the waist. Kittoe sent me a tracing of his sketch of the statue, and a copy of the inscription, with transcript in modern Nágari. This differs very much from Wilford's version, as will be seen in the following translation.

'Adoration to Buddha. Having worshipped the lotus foot of S'rí Dhama-rási, sprung from the lake of Varánasi,

and having for its moss the hairs of prostrate kings, the fortunate Mahi-pála, King of Gauḍa, caused to be built in Kás'í hundreds of monuments, such as Ís'ána and Chitraghaṇṭa.

'The fortunate Sthira-pála and his younger brother, the fortunate Vasanta-pála, have renewed religion completely in all its parts, and have raised a tower *(s'aila)* with an inner chamber *(garbha-kuṭi)*, and eight large niches. Samvat, 1083, the 11th day of Pausha.' "*

The learned antiquarian does not mention where the stone now is, nor the name of the person who translated the record. He has also not given a facsimile or a transcript of it. Under the circumstances no critical enquiry can be made as to the correctness of the reading and the translation. This is much to be regretted, as the document is the only one which has a really intelligible and useful date in it.

It is to be regretted also that the next record to which I have to refer, a copper-plate inscription found at A'mgáchhi in Dinájpur appears also to be defective. Colebrooke, who translated it, published only an abstract. According to Colebrooke's abstract the first prince mentioned in it is Loka-pála, and after him, Dharma-pála. The next name has not been deciphered, but the following one is Jaya-pála, succeeded by Deva-pála ; two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered ; then follow Rája-pála,—Pála Deva, and Vigraha-pála, and subsequently Mahi-pála Deva, Naya-pála and Vigraha-pála. The date appears to be of the last king's reign, the 9th day of Chaitra (March—April), Samvat, 12.

The next record, in order of discovery, was found by Captain Marshall in 1864, but not published in any form. Mr. Broadley noticed it in 1872. It was found inscribed on the jamb of the entrance to the Nálandá temple. It occurs at the foot of an ornamental scroll, and measures 8 inches by 5. Its language is Sanskrit, and its extent 12 lines, of

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* Arch. Survey Reports III, p. 121.

which the second breaks off in the middle after the word Samvat, and the third begins so as to leave some space at the beginning. This was done probably with a view to leave room enough for the date in figures or words ; but they were never put in. The jamb being made of hard basalt, and having been placed on the door side, deep behind a broad portico or veranda, suffered not at all from the influence of the weather when *in situ ;* and, since the destruction of the temple, having remained buried under a large mass of rubbish, between 20 and 30 feet deep, looks as fresh as when it was first turned out of the sculptor's atillier.

The subject of the record is a donation to the temple, but the nature of the gift is not apparent. The words used for the purpose are *deya dharmoyam* "this is a religious gift," and the pronoun therefore may apply to the stone on which it occurs, or to the gate of which the stone forms a part, or to the portico, or to the entire temple. The words, however, are generally used as a formula for expressing a gift, and the gift might be other than the substance on which they occur. Looking to the nature of the temple,—a brick structure cemented with clay and plastered with stucco, which had undergone several repairs, the plastering in many places being not in keeping with the mouldings formed of bricks and the door-ways, apart from the stone-facings, being perfect and bearing marks of plastering under the stones—there is no doubt now that the temple existed from long before the time of the Pála Kings of Bengal, and the formula therefore does not apply to it. General Cunningham takes the temple to date from the 1st century, B. C. The donor was one Báláditya, a native of Kaus'ámbi in the Doab of the Ganges, the son of Gurudatta and grandson of Haradatta. He was a Buddhist by religion, a follower of the Maháyána school, and a devout worshipper. He belonged to a clan of oil-sellers named Tailádhaka. He had no pretension to royalty,

but in religion, whether Hindu or Buddhist, it was not necessary for a devout person to have high social position, to make a religious gift in an ancient public temple. He claims no merit to himself for the gift, but desires that the fruit of it may promote "the advancement of the highest (religious) knowledge among the mass of mankind."*

When I first read the inscription from a facsimile, I was disposed to take the date of this inscription to be the Samvat year 913 = A. D. 856. I made out the figures from three symbolical words: the first—*agni*, "fire," being equal to 3, the second *rágha*, "power" = to 1; and the third *dwára*, 'door' = 9. This would be equal to 319; but the practice invariably followed in explaining symbolical figures is to transpose them according to the well-known rule, *ankasya vámá gatí*, "figures run to the left," and I had no hesitation, therefore, in adopting it, particularly as the character of the writing, the Kuṭila, which had a range of between four or five centuries from the 8th to the 12th, fully justified my course. The symbolical meanings of the first and the last words are well-known and undoubted. The second, however, was not in common use, at least I had never found it used in that sense. Its first letter rá was unmistakable, but the second could be a compound of d and ya, which would produce ádya or one, the r being taken for the visarga after agni. This would lead to the same result. Inasmuch, however, as the first word cannot take the nominative case-mark in the midst of a compound term, I preferred the reading adopted. Soon after communicating my translation to Mr. Broadley, I paid a visit to Behar, and, on examining the stone, found the second letter to be clearly a dh, and the word *rádha* being equivalent to the Hindu month Vais'ákha (April—May), I came to the conclusion that the first two words meant the 3rd of Vais'ákha, the subsequent word *dwára tate* meaning "spread

* Journal Asiatic Society, XLI., pt. I., p. 310.

on the door," *i. e.*, the gift whatever it was given at the gate.* This explanation left the figures of the Samvat unprovided but the blank space after the word Samvat I supposed was, the locale of the figures or symbolical words which were never engraved. Professor Ráma Krishṇa Gopal Bhaṇḍárkar, of Bombay, to whom a facsimile had been communicated by Mr. Broadley, took the two upright strokes after the word Samvat to be equal to 1 l.† I could not, however, subscribe to this opinion. In the Kuṭila character the figure for 1 is not an upright stroke, and there was no reason to suppose that a departure had been made in this case. The blank spaces after the word at the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second line would, under the supposition, also be unaccountable. In Sanskrit inscriptions and MSS. it is not usual to break the matter into paragraphs, and the blank spaces cannot but imply a deliberate act intended for something to be put in afterwards, the matter not being ready at hand at the time of the incision.

Mr. Broadley found an inscription of Go-pála at the same place, two of Madana-pála, and Vigraha-pála respectively, at Behár ; three of Mahi-pála, and one each of Ráma-pála and Deva-pála at Ghosrawáñ and Titrawáñ. The Ghosrawáñ inscription was first noticed by Major Kittoe.‡

With a view to complete the summary of the references to the history of the Pála Kings, it is necessary further to refer to the list of the Pálas given in the Ain-i-Akbari (vol. I, p. 413) and in Táránáth's work. They have been entirely superseded by the inscriptions, but they afford curious illustrations of the changes which had been effected by the traditions current at the time of Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl's list has been reproduced in Pere Tieffenthaler's work.

The Genealogical lists derived from these several sources may be thus tabulated :

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* Journal A. S., XLI, pt. I., p. 310. † *Loc. cit.* ‡ Journal A. S., XIV.

The Pála Kings of Bengal and Behar.

No.	Bhágalpur Plate.	Mungher Plate.	Budál Pillar.	Dinájpur Plate.	Sárnáth stone.	Small inscriptions, each a single name.	Ain i Akbari.	Táránáth in Bas-relief.
1	Go-pála.	Go-pála.	.....	Loka-pála.	.....	Go-pála (1).	Bhu-pála.	Go-pála.
2	Dharma-pála.	Dharma-pála.	......	Dharma-pála.	......	......	Dhir-pála.	Deva-pála.
3	Vák-pála.	......	......	(Illegible).	......	......	......	Raso-pála.
4	Deva-pála.	Deva-pála.	Deva-pála.	Jaya-pála.	....	Deva-pála (2).	Deva-pála.	Dharma-pála.
5	Jaya-pála.	......	Sura-pála.	Deva-pála.	.....	....	Bhupati-pála.	Masurakshita.
6	Vigrahá-pála	......	......	(Illegible.)	.....	......	Dhanapat-pála.	Vana-pála.
7	Náráyaṇa-pála.	.....	Náráyaṇa-pála.	Náráyaṇapala.	....	Náráyaṇa-pála(3).	Bijjen-pála.	Mahi-pála.
8	......	......	.....	Rája-pála.	...	.....	Jaya-pála.	Maha-pála.
9	......	......	....	——pála.	....	......	Rája-pála.	Shamu-pála.
10	......	......	.....	Vigraha-pála I.	......	Vigraha-pála (4).	Bhoj-pála.	Srestha-pála.
11	......	......	......	Mahi-pála.	Mahi-pála.	......	Jagat-pála.	Chanaka-pála.
12	......	......	.....	Naya-pála.	Sthira-pála.	Naya-pála (5).	......	Beira-pála.
13	......	......	......	Vigraha-pálaII.	Vasanta-pála.	......	......	Neia-pála.
14	......	......	......	......	......	Mahendra-pála(6)	......	Amara-pála.
15	......	......	......	......	......	Ráma-pála (7).	......	Hasti-pála.
16	......	......	.....	......	......	Madana-pála (8).	.....	Kshánti-pála.
17	......	......	......	......	.....	Govinda-pála (9).	.....	Ráma-pála.
18	......	......	......	.....	......	......	......	Yaksha-pála.

REMARKS.

(1) Nálandá, No. 1 of C.
(2) Ghosrawáñ, No. 5 of C.
(3) Gayá, No. 6 of C.
(4) Behar, No. 7 of C.
(5) Gayá, No. 12 of C.
(6) Ráma Gayá, No. 13 of C.
(7) Behar, No. 15 of C.
(8) Behar, No. 16 of C.
(9) Gayá, No. 18 of C.

It is obvious that the several authorities quoted above all refer to the same dynasty, and the question therefore arises— how to reconcile their discrepancies? The list of the Aín-i-Akbari and that of Táránáth, may be left out of consideration, as they are founded upon tradition, and, in dealing with long lists of names, tradition is always open to mistakes. But the case is different with patents issued during the life-time of the grantors, and which, from that circumstance, are naturally expected to be accurate in so important a matter as the names of the immediate ancestors of royal personages. Discrepancies in such cases cannot easily be explained away, and in the present instance the difficulty has been greatly enhanced by some of the patents available being imperfect and mutilated. It is the farthest from my wish to cast any reflection on the translators whose works I have to review; I have high respect for their ability and profound scholarship; but where the originals they had to work upon were smudgy, obliterated, and partially illegible, their translations cannot be implicitly relied upon.

The first discrepancy I have to notice is in the name of the founder of the dynasty. According to three inscriptions, of which two are in a perfect state of preservation and tradition as recorded by Táránáth, it is Go-pála; but in a fourth, and that the most defective, it is *Loka-pála;* and the Ain-i-Akbari changes it to *Bhu-pála.* Assuming Colebrooke's reading of the Dinájpur plate to be in this part correct, I can account for the difference by attributing it to the exigency of metre. The genealogy is given in verse, and the necessity for a word of two syllables I think, induced the conveyancer to change the first part of the name from the monosyllable *go* to the dissyllable *loka,* the meaning remaining unchanged—*go*=‘earth,’ and *loka*=‘region’ or earth. The *bhu* of the Ain-i-Akbari has the same signification. It might appear repulsive to an Englishman that

Mr. Black should change into Mr. Melanos, to suit the convenience of a poet, but in the middle ages it was not uncommon in Europe to translate English names into Latin even in prose epitaphs, and in the present day poets not unfrequently change the quantity or proper names to suit their rhyme. In Sanskrit the practice of using synonyms either for the sake of metre, or for that of rhetoric, was at one time not unknown. If this explanation be not acceptable, it might be supposed that the person referred to had two *aliases;* and the writer of the Dinájpur plate used one name, that of the Ain-i-Akbari another. It is worthy of note that the writer of the Bhágalpur monument was only five generations removed from the founder of the dynasty, whereas that of the Dinájpur plate was separated from him by over twice that interval, and greater faith must be reposed on him who was the nearest to the founder.

The second name is the same in all the three inscriptions in which it occurs, and calls for no remark. The third, however, is not so. In the Bhágalpur record, which is the most perfect, it is Vák-pála, but in the Mungher plate Deva-pála. In the Dinájpur plate it is illegible. It appears, however, from the first record that Vák-pála was the younger brother of Dharma-pála, and served as a lieutenant to his brother. The second record in giving the succession of the reigning sovereign, did not, therefore, feel called upon to name him. In the third record I think the illegible name which Colebrooke could not read and the next name Jaya-pála are not names of reigning sovereigns, but ephithets of Dharma-pála, which have been mistaken for proper names. The word pála, 'a protector,' is just one of those which a Hindu poet would most likely play upon in a variety of ways, and try to educe as many alliterations out of it as possible, and as Colebrooke says, "so great a part of the inscription is obliterated, (portions of every line being illegible) that it is

difficult to discover the purport of the inscription,"* such a mistake was not at all unlikely to happen. If the illegible name be assumed to be Deva-pála, the son of Vák-pála and successor of Dharma-pála, we could not make Jaya-pála his son, for the Bhágalpur plate makes Jaya-pála the son of Vák-pála and brother of Deva-pála, and Vigraha-pála his son. The Budál pillar names Sura-pála only, leaving out Vigraha-pála, but as the object of the pillar was not to give a genealogical table of the kings of the Pála dynasty, but to record the names of the ancestors of one Gurava, the minister of Náráyaṇa-pála, naming the kings incidentally as patrons of those ancestors, the omission is not remarkable. The Dinájpur plate names only one person between Deva-pála and Náráyaṇa-pála, and his name is illegible. We may, reasonably assume it to have been Vigraha-pála.

The sixth name in the Bhágalpur plate has not its counterpart in any other record. Its absence from the Mungher plate is accounted for by the fact of the latter not extending beyond Deva-pála ; and from the Budál plate, on the supposition of the owner of it not having been a patron of the family to whose honour it was dedicated. It should have been present in the Dinájpur plate, but as the entirety of that document is not forthcoming, it is impossible to say precisely whether there is only one name illegible in it after Deva-pála or two.

Leaving out of consideration the lists of the Ain-i-Akbari and of Táránáth, which are unreliable and quite irreconcilable, we have only the Dinajpur plate to supply the names of the descendants of Náráyaṇa-pála down to Mahi-pála, and it gives us four names, *viz.*, Rája-pála, —pála, Vigraha-pála and Mahi-pála, which we must accept as correct, pending the discovery of some more authentic document. I accept the Naya-pála and Vigraha-pála II. on the

* As. Researches, IX., p. 434.

same authority, with Sthira-pála and Vasanta-pála as their *aliases* on the testimony of the Benares stone.

In addition to the above there are four other names in inscriptions, each giving a single name; but as there is nothing reliable to show the order of their succession, and, further, as they do not fall within the scope of this paper, which I wish to confine to the sovereigns of Bengal only, I shall take no note of them. Within the limits which I prescribe for myself, the materials available, as aforesaid, afford a list of eleven reigning sovereigns, instead of thirteen, as given by General Cunningham, his Nos. 3 and 4 being inadmissible in the face of the Bhágalpur plate.

The only intelligible date available for these eleven reigns is afforded by the Benares stone, and that is Samvat 1083 =1026 A.D. The document when first read was utterly untrustworthy, and in drawing up my monograph of the Sena Rájás I took no notice of it. Although no facsimile has since been published, as General Cunningham obtained a copy of the record from so able an antiquarian as the late Major Kittoe, and himself read the date as given above, I am bound to accept it; for I am of opinion that no one in India in the present day has so thorough a knowledge of Indian lapidary writing as that profound scholar, and he is not at all likely to make a mistake in reading a mediæval figure. The date may be taken to be about the middle of Mahi-pála's reign, and as Mahi-pála was the most renowned of the Pálas of Bengal, the only one whose name is still rememberd by the people, and whose monument, the Mahi-pála Dighi of Dinájpur, is still in existence, his reign may be fairly assumed to have been of more than average length. If I say it lasted from 1015 to 1040 A. D., I fancy it would not be by any means thought to be improbable.

With this starting-point gained it is necessary to calculate backwards the times of his eight predecessors. For this

purpose General Cunningham adopts an average of 25 years. He says, "Assigning 25 years to a generation, and working backwards from Mahi-pála, the accession of Go-pála, the founder of the dynasty, will fall in the latter half of the 8th century ; or still earlier, if we allow 30 years to each generation. By either reckoning, the rise of the Pála dynasty of Magadha is fixed to the 8th century, A. D., at which time great changes would appear to have taken place amongst most of the ruling families of Northern India."*

The General assigns no reason for adopting this average, and I cannot help thinking that it is too high. It is certainly not in accord with data available from Indian history. Twenty reigns of the Mughals, from 1494 to 1806, give an average of 15 years and 7 months. Twenty-one reigns in Káshmír, from 1326 to 1588, give 12 years and 6 months. Forty reigns of the Delhi Pathâns yield an average of 9 years and 9 days. Twenty-four reigns of the Bengal Pathâns, from 1200 to 1350, produce a little over 6 years. Similarly twenty reigns in Burmah, from 1541 to 1781, offer an average of 12 years. Doubtless these averages are of periods and reigns, some of which were much troubled ; but in a place like Ceylon, whose insular position protected it to a great extent from outside or foreign attacks, twenty reigns from 1410 to 1798 yield an average of 19 years and nearly 5 months. In England, in the same way, from Edward IV to William IV, or 1461 to 1837, twenty-one reigns yield an average of no more than 17 years, 10 months and 25 days. There was nothing in the physical or political condition of the Pálas in Bengal which could give them a greater immunity from the vicissitudes of changes incident to royalty than in the places named. James Prinsep, after a careful survey of the history of Indian dynasties, took 16 to 18 years to be the average, and nothing has since been found to show that his calculations were wrong.

* Arch. Surv. Report, III., p. 135.

Doubtless in taking averages a great deal depends upon the period and the number of reigns taken into account. A George III, or an Akbar, with two or three average reigns, would often upset all calculations ; but with 20 to 40 reigns, the risk of error from occasionally protracted reigns is reduced to a minimum. The Pálas in Bengal did not enjoy any great immunity from outside attacks. They had very powerful rivals in the kings of Orissa on one side, in those of Behar and Kanauj on another, and those of Assam and Tipperah and Eastern Bengal on a third, and it is well-known how outside rivalry foments domestic discord ; and, taking these facts into consideration, I cannot assign them a higher average. Eighteen years, in my opinion, would be (if anything) high, but in consideration of the number of reigns being small—only eight before Mahi-pála—and to provide for the possibility of there having been an Akbar or two among them, I shall take it at 20, which would be the highest possible admission. At this rate the result will be as follows :

I.	Go-pála, ...	855	VI.	Rája-pála,............	955
II.	Dharma-pála,........	875	VII.	— pála,..............	975
III.	Deva-pála,...........	895	VIII.	Vigraha-pála, II	995
IV.	Vigraha-pála, I	915	IX.	Mahi-pála,	1015 to 1040
V.	Náráyaṇa-pála,......	935	X.	Naya-pála, ...	1060
			XI.	Vigraha-pála, III,..........	1080

The inscriptions noticed above clearly show that all the Pálas were staunch Buddhists ; but several of them were tolerant enough to employ Hindus as their principal officers of state ; and, though they no doubt encouraged the diffusion of their own religion, they not only did not oppress their people for their religion, but even allowed their Hindu ministers to apply to them, in official and state documents, praise which could be grateful only to Hindu ears. They went further, and sometimes gave lands for religious purposes which cannot be strictly called Buddhist.

The last question in connexion with the Pálas is the locale or extent of their dominion. Táránáth calls them all kings of Bengal ; so does Abul Fazl in the Ain-i Akbari. The Mungher plate does not name the kingdom of the Pálas, but it was executed when the camp of Devapála was pitched at Mudgagiri, *i. e.*, Mungher. The Bhágalpur plate was also executed at Mungher, and in it Náráyaṇa-pála is called the "lord of Anga," or king of Bhágalpur and its neighbourhood, including Mungher. The Budál pillar occurs in the Dinájpur district, and that would show that in the time of Náráyaṇa-pála his minister Gurava had administrative power on the north of the Padmá. The Dinájpur plate not having been fully deciphered, we know not where it was executed, and, though found at Ámgáchi, it is possible that the grant may refer to some place at a great distance from it. There can be no doubt, however, that one of the latest kings named in it, Mahi-pála, exercised full sovereignty in the province to the north of the Padmá. That vast sheet of water in Dinájpur which still bears his name, the Mahi-pála dighi, is a proof positive on this point. We have also the evidence of the Sárnáth stone, which calls him lord of Gauḍa, though the stone cannot be accepted as a proof of Mahi-pála's reign having extended as far as Benares. In a sacred place of pilgrimage any person could go and dedicate a temple, or an image, without in any way acquiring political power in the locality.

Mr. Westmacott, in his "Traces of Buddhism in Dinájpur," supplies several other proofs in support of the sovereignty of the Pálas on the north of the Padmá. He says, "In all south-eastern Dinájpur, and the neighbouring parts of Bagurá, remains of Buddhism, and of the Buddhist Pála kings are numerous. It was in this neighbourhood that in the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen-Thsang, found the Buddhist court of Paundra-vardhana, which I

identify with Vardhana Kúṭí, the residence of a very ancient family, close to Govindaganj, on the Karatoyá. Mr. Fergusson, in his paper on Hiouen-Thsang, quotes from an account of Paundrades'a in the fourth volume of the 'Oriental Quarterly Magazine,' that Vardhana Kúṭí, governed by a Yavana, or Musalmán, was one of the chief towns of Nirvṛitti, comprising Dinájpur, Rangpur and Koch Behar, and consequently the eastern half of Hiouen-Thsang's kingdom of Paundra-vardhana."* Elsewhere he says: "Dharma-pála, whose fort still bears his name, more than seventy miles north of Vardhana Kúṭí, and other Pála kings, were ruling east of the Karatoyá long after Bengal had been subdued by the Senas, before whom indeed the Pálas probably retreated by degrees to the north-east, and were supplanted without any great catastrophe."† Again, "close to Jogi-ghopá are extensive brick remains, said to have been the palace of Deva-pála, whether the Deva-pála of the Mungher plate or not I will not say, but certainly of the Ámgáchi plate. Bhimlá Deví, daughter of Deva-pála, is said by the ignorant *pujáris* to be represented by one of the Jogi-ghopá carvings. A mile to the south-west, at Amári, are more brick remains, which Dr. Buchanan heard called the palace of Mahi-pála. Across the *bíl*, two miles north-east, at Chondirá, are remains, which he was told were those of Chandra-pála's palace; there are more bricks at Kaṭak and Dhoral, and indeed in all the country round are innumerable brick ruins. Seven miles north of the great *stúpa* is the celebrated Budál pillar, set up by a minister of Náráyaṇa-pála, and bearing an inscription, in which Deva-pála and Sura-pála are mentioned as having preceded Náráyaṇa-pála. A dozen miles north of that again was found the A'mgáchi plate, containing a grant of Vigraha-pála, and enumerating his ancestors, Sura-pála, his father

* Journal A. S., XLIV., p. 188. † *Loc. cit.*

Mahi-pála, Dharma pála, and others."* Several local names such as Mahiganj, Mahinagar, Mahipur, Mahi-santosh, Naya-nagar, &c., also bear remains of the names of former Pála kings.

The evidence, thus, is, on the whole, sufficient to show that the Pálas exercised sovereignty on the west of the Bhágirathí, certainly as far as the boundary of Behar, and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. On the north it included Tirhut, Máldá, Rájsháhi, Dinájpur, Rangpur, and Bagurá, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Paundra-vardhana. The bulk of the delta seems, however, not to have belonged to them. To show this and to prove the time when they were finally expelled from Bengal proper, we must turn to the history of the Sena Rájás of Bengal.

Paleographic evidence regarding the Sena Rájás is scanty and unsatisfactory, and tradition regarding them is meagre and contradictaory. There is enough, however, available to show their time and position in the history of Bengal.

The first record bearing the name of a Sena Rájá was brought to light by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton during his tour in the Gayá district, in the early part of this century, and a facsimile, subsequently communicated to James Prinsep by Mr. W. Hawthorne, was published in the fifth volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society (pp. 658 f.). It names As'oka Sena, and is dated in the year 74 of Lakshmana Sena's era. The record was inscribed by a pious Buddhist on a slab of sandstone to commemorate some gift made by him to the Bodhi temple.

The next record was a copper plate grant of Kes'ava Sena, bearing date, the 3rd year of the reign of the king. It was found in an alluvion deposit in the zemindari of Bábu Kánáilál Tagore, in Pargunnah Edilpur, Zillah Bákarganj, in the year 1837, and is now deposited in the library of the

* Journal A. S., XLIV., p. 188.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. An account of it, together with a transcript prepared by Paṇḍit Govindaráma, revised by Paṇḍit Kamalákánta, and an English translation by Bábu Sáradaprasád Chakravartí, occurs in the Journal of the Society, vol. VII., pp. 40, f. The legend on the seal of the record represents a ten-handed human figure seated on a lotus, which is described in the text to be that of S'adás'iva. It opens with a salutation to Náráyaṇa, and two stanzas in praise of the moon, in whose race the princes named are said to have been born. The first prince named is Vijaya Sena. He was a sovereign of great might and renown, and his son Ballála Sena was the father of Lakshmaṇa Sena, who seems to have been the most renowned prince of the line. He is said to have "erected many pillars for victories in battle, high sacrificial posts near the altar of *Musaladhára* and Gadápáṇi, situated on the coast of the South Sea (Jagannáth); at the holy place of Vis'vesvara, (Benares) where fall the streams of As'i and Varuṇá into the waves of Gangá; and on the banks of *Triveni*, which became truly sacred and pure, for its being the place where he who was born upon lilies, (Brahmá) commenced his sacrifice. He had, by his queen Vásudeví, a son named Kes'ava Sena, who claims to himself the suzerainty of the Gajapati, As'vapati and Narapati kings. This Kes'ava, on the anniversary of his birth in the month of Jyaisṭha, after the 3rd year of his reign, granted two villages Baguti and Bettogata lodyamuna, to one Ís'vardeva S'armá, son of Vanamáli S'armá.

In commenting upon the monument, Prinsep observes: "It is curious that whenever the name of Kes'ava Sena occurs on the plate, there are marks of an erasure, as if the grant had been proposed during the reign of Mádhava Sena, and, on his dying before it was completed (for such a plate must have taken a long time to engrave), the name of his successor Kes'ava, fortunately happening to be of the same

prosodial quantity, was ingeniously substituted, and *mutatis nomine*, the endowment was completed and promulgated. Kes'ava must have been in this case the brother of Mádhava."*

The second record, also a copper plate patent, was found in the 24 Purgunnah portion of the Sundarban, somewhere near Diamond Harbour, in the estate of Bábu Haridása Datta, of Majilpur. I applied to the Bábu for a sight, or a facsimile, of the record, but could not get it ; others have tried to obtain a sight of the record but failed. Paṇḍit Rámagati Nyáyaratna, in his "Discourse on the Bengali Language and Literature," makes the same complaint, but he has published a transcript, said to have been prepared by one Haladhara Chúḍámaṇi, who admits having failed to read all the letters, and to have conjecturally supplied the gaps. The reading has been revised, again conjecturally, and republished in a Bengali literary journal entitled *Bhárati.* In so far the record is of not sufficient authenticity for any critical purpose.

It purports to be a grant of land by Lakshmaṇa Sena, son of Ballála Sena, on the 10th of Mágha, in the second year of the king's reign.

The third record, likewise a copper patent, comes from the opposite side of Bengal. It was found in the bed of, an old tank called Tarpan-dighi, in the Dinájpur district and noticed and translated by Mr. Westmacott.† It is closely similar to the last in language, and has a seal exactly like that of the Bákarganj plate, but the genealogy includes the names of four princes, *viz.*, Hemanta, Vijaya, Ballála and Lakshmaṇa, the last of whom gives to his preceptor Ís'aradeva S'armá some lands in the village of Belabiohti. The patent is dated from camp Vikrampur, on the 3rd Bhádra, in the 7th year of the king's reign.

* Journal A. S., Bengal VII., p. 42. † Journal A. S., XLIV., pp. 1 f.

The last was found in the Rajshahi district, at a place called "Burrin," close by the village of Deopárá, Tháná Godágri.

Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, who discovered the stone and translated it, gives the following account of the place where the monument was found. "The tank where I found it," he says, "is some 40 miles from Goa (Gour?); but it stands on the bank of a river which was the old *Pudda* bed, and which river now flows 6 miles to the south, before Rámpur Bauleah. The locality is evidently the site of some temple, and the stone records, I should say the inscription, the praises of the founder. While making some further examinations I came to the top of a series of black stone-steps, leading underground; one monster stone was 1 yard in thickness. In the tank itself are 2 slabs which can be felt with a bamboo and which, a hoary-headed old man says, were above ground when he was a *chokrá* (boy) and kept the village cattle, *i. e.*, some 60 years ago." The place was of some distinction, even during the Muhammadan period, for there still stands a magnificent masjid about 650 years old. Mr. Metcalfe describes it as "built entirely of stone without a bit of mortar, and put together like a child's toy-house, the stones fitting the one into the other. The carving on it is beautiful."

The stone slab upon which the inscription is recorded, was found in a dense jungle, apparently away from its original position, but amidst a number of large blocks of stone half buried under the earth. It measures 2 ft. 3 inches by 1 ft. 9¾. Its material is basalt carefully polished on the upper surface.

The letters of the inscription are of the Tirhút or Gour type, similar to that of the Bákárganj plate of Kes'ava Sena, deciphered by James Prinsep. Bengali MSS. three centuries old, are written in very much the same character, and the

facsimile of the *Yajnadattabadha* published by Chezy, bears some resemblance to it. Mr. Metcalfe found considerable difficulty in getting the record deciphered, owing to modern paṇdits not being familar with its style of writing, but I have carefully compared his transcript with the original, and satisfied myself that his reading is perfectly correct.

The language of the inscription is pure Sanskrit, but its style is highly inflated and hyperbolical. Umápati Mis'ra, the author of it, is never satisfied with an ordinary comparison. If he has to describe a high temple, he cannot stop without making its pinnacle stand as an obstruction to the course of the sun. His kings must upbraid the heroes of the *Rámáyaṇa* and the *Mahábhárata* as "vain boasters and insignificant upstarts," and his war-boats, even when stranded on a sand-bank in the Ganges, must "eclipse the glory of the moon." This style, common enough in oriental writing, was widely current in Northern India in the 9th, 10th and the 11th centuries of the Christian era. Whether at Gour, or Benares, or Kanauj, or Oujein, or Mathura, this straining after bombast was so universal, that no one familiar with the monumental literature of the period, can mistake it for a moment, and it may, therefore, be taken as a characteristic of the time. I have myself met with it so often, that had I no other guide to ascertain the age of the record under notice, I would have taken its style to be a conclusive proof of its being of the 10th or 11th century. In the present instance, knowing well that Umápati was a contemporary of Jayadeva,* the renowned author of the Gítagovinda, we have no reason to doubt the age.

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space, and vied in loftiness with the Mount Meru round which the sun, moon and the stars run their course." Its pinnacle of gold, which was shaped like a water-jar, was equal to the Meru in weight. Its locality was the margin of the tank where the inscription was found. Judging from the insignificant remains now traceable in that locality, I believe the edifice was by no means a very extraordinary one. Its presiding deity was Pradyumnes'vara, or S'iva, as the destroyer of Cupid, a form in which he is not often worshipped by his votaries in Bengal. This divinity, who is generally represented as a vagrant mendicant, is said to have exchanged, by the favour of the dedicator of the temple, his tiger-skin toga for silken dresses, his serpent neck-chains for garlands of jewels, his ashes for sandal-wood powder, his rosary for pearls, and his human bone ornaments for precious gems.

Of the dedicator of the temple, Vijaya, the record is, as usual in such cases, the most lavish in its praise. According to it, he was the greatest of kings that ever held sway on earth; the most valiant, the most charitable, and the most virtuous. While describing the hero as a devout follower of Mahádeva, it does not hesitate to make him even superior to that dread manifestation of the divinity, for the one, says it, "destroys all alike, while the other, killed his enemies and cherished his friends." There is, however, very little in the verses devoted to his glorification which may be taken for facts. The time of his reign is not given, nor the name of his caste, nor that of the place where he caused the temple

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां ।
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुते ॥

In the colophon of a MS. of the Gitagovinda found by Dr. Buhler at Káshmír, Jayadeva is described as a contemporary of Lashmaṇa Sena.

अथ लक्ष्मणसेन नाम नृपति सभ्यै श्रीजयदेवस्य । Kavirája Pratishṭhá.

to be erected. He is related to have invaded Assam (Kámarúpa) and the Coromandel Coast between the Çhilká Lake and Madras (Kaliñga), and to have sent a fleet of war-boats up the Ganges to conquer the Western kings; but nothing is said of the results of these invasions: the last is, in a manner, acknowledged to have proved a failure; for the only thing noticeable in it, was the stranding of one of the boats on a sand-bank, poetically described as "the ashes on the forehead of S'iva, changed to mud by contact with the water of the Ganges."

The genealogy of the king includes three names, those of Hemanta Sena, Sumanta Sena, and Víra Sena. The last was evidently the founder of the family, for he appears as a descendant of the moon, without any reference to his immediate progenitors.

It is unquestionable that the princes named in these several records all belong to the same dynasty, and their genealogical tree may be made up thus:—

I. Víra Sena.
II. Sumanta Sena, son of I.
III. Hemanta Sena, son of II.
IV. Vijaya Sena, son of III.
V. Ballála Sena, son of IV.
VI. Lakshmaṇa Sena, son of V.
VII. Mádhava Sena, son of VI.
VIII. Kes'ava Sena, son of VI., and brother of VII.
IX. As'oka Sena grandson of VI.

According to tradition Ádisura was the founder of the Sena dynasty, but the records above noticed make Víra Sena to be the founder. He was a Dákshinátya or southron by birth, and first established his dominion in Bengal. I am disposed to think that he is the same with Ádis'úra.

The name Ádis'úra does not sort either with the Pálas, or with the Senas. The word *s'úra* is a synonym of *víra* a hero,

and the *ádi* is indicative of the initial position which Víra Sena occupies in the genealogy of the dynasty. In other words, I take Ádis'úra to be an epithet and Víra to be the proper name, or the former to be an alias of the latter, Víra and S'úra being synonymous, and a notable instance of the use of synonyms occurs in the name of the founder of the Pála dynasty, who is, as shown above, at option called Go-pála Bhú-pála or Loka-pála. Exception may be taken to this on the ground that in a Bengali book, entitled *Sambandha-nirṇaya*, published two years ago, Paṇḍit Lálamohana Vidyánidhi states that he had been informed of a tradition current in the Varendra country which makes one Bhús'úra the son of Ádis'úra, and adds that Bhús'úra dying without male issue, his daughter's son As'oka Sena succeeded him, who was followed by Sura Sena, and the latter by Víra Sena. On asking the paṇḍit for his authority for this tradition, he informed me that he had got it from a Kulajṇa at Murshidabad, but that he had heard it nowhere else. On so slender an authority I cannot induce myself to accept it as a matter worthy of historical enquiry. The two names As'oka and Sura are later names, which the Kulajṇa put at the beginning, evidently not knowing where else to place them.

Of Sámanta and his son Hemanta nothing is known of any importance. Tradition had entirely lost sight of them, and the records have little to say beyond the usual stereotyped praise for heroism.

It is stated in the genealogical tables of the Káyasthas that when Ballála established his system of nobility *(Kula)* the original five Káyasthas of Kanauj had multiplied to 56 families. Assuming that each generation of the original Káyasthas had multiplied two-fold, five generations from Ádis'úra to Ballála would give eighty individuals, who may well represent the alleged number of families. Of the Bráhmaṇs

the total number of families that lived at the time of Ballála is not known. But it is evident that it was not large, for we find that Ballála included only ten families in the ranks of his nobles, *viz.*, two of the descendants of Bhaṭṭanáráyaṇa, two of those of Daksha, one of those of S'riharsha, three of those of Chhándaḍa, and two of those of Vedagarbha. They do not suggest a longer period than would be covered by five generations. It should be noted that the editor of the Veṇisañhára,* Muktaráma Vidyávágis'a, in his genealogical table of the Tagore family, makes Halá-yudha, minister of Lakshmaṇa Sena, to be the 16th in descent from Bhaṭṭanáráyaṇa ; but inasmuch as his statement has been contradicted by the author of the *Khitísa-vañsávali-charita*† who would have him to be the third in descent from Bhaṭṭa-náráyaṇa, and both have been contradicted by Haláyudha himself, who calls his father Dhanañjaya, whereas the one makes him the son of Nipu and the other that of Rámarúpa, we may well reject his testimony as inadmissible.

Vijaya the fourth of the series was, according to tradition, known by the name of Sukha Sena, and under that name he occurs in the Áyín-í Akbary, as the father of Ballála Sena. His name occurs in the Bákarganj plate as the first of a series of four kings, the last of which was Kes'ava Sena. Vijaya there appears as the father of Ballála Sena. Again, in a manuscript of the *Dánaságara*, a treatise on gifts attributed to Ballála Sena, the author describes himself as the son of Vijaya Sena, and the grandson of Hemanta Sena. These facts justify the assumption that the three records allude to the same family, and that Sukha Sena was an alias of Vijaya Sena. If this be admitted, the Sena dynasty of Bengal will have to be extended by the addition of the three names which occur in the Rájsháhi inscription.

Ed., Calcutta, 1855. † Pertche's Ed. p. xvi.

Of the descendants of Vijaya, the most distinguished was, no doubt, his son Ballála. "This prince," to quote the words of an able writer in the *Calcutta Review*, "was held in such high estimation all over Bengal, that the most extravagant fancies have been indulged and the wildest tales invented in order to connect his memory with the marvellous and the sublime." The same writer continues; "Poets have invested him with the dignity of a divine original, and described his infantile precocity in the most glowing colours. He has been represented as the son of the fluvial god, Brahmaputra, who had deceived his mother by assuming the form of her own husband. His nativity is said to have taken place in the solitude of a thick forest, where his mother had been banished a few months before her parturition through the jealousy and treachery of his father's two other wives. In these sylvan shades and under the especial protection of heaven he passed his infantile days, undisturbed by the noise and distractions of towns and cities, and uncontaminated by the pleasures and irregularities of riotous society. His divine parent, 'the uxorious Amnis,' as Horace would perhaps call him, instructed him in the different branches of a Hindu's education, and in the tactics of war and diplomatic policy. While yet a boy he is said to have exhibited extraordinary proofs of heroism and strength. He had discomfited, unassisted and alone, a whole host of disciplined troops commanded by princes and veteran captains, and armed with all the weapons of native warfare." The whole of this statement, however, is founded upon vague traditions, or modern records of questionable authority. We may dismiss it, therefore, without a remark. The Bákarganj inscription of Ballála's grandson does not allude to the facts noted in it with sufficient circumstantiality to give them any prominence. From what it says, we may take for granted, however, that he was a great patron of learning and himself

an author of some pretension.—*Vedártha-smṛiti-saṇgrahádi purushaḥ.*" The treatise on gifts alluded to above shews that his reading was extensive and his knowledge of the s'ástras respectable.* He is, however, better known in this country

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* The prominent mention made in the work of the author's tutor, Anirudha, would waken a suspicion that, like many other crowned heads in India and Europe, Ballála had assumed to himself a credit which rightly belonged to another. However that be, the authenticity of the work is undoubted. It has been quoted by the author of the *Samaya—prakásá* who lived several hundred years ago, and Raghunandana who flourished at the end of the 15th century, alludes to it in two places in his *S'uddhi-tattva* : अत्र साक्षात्कृच्छ्रद्रत्तघृततण्डुला-द्यनुयोगीति दानसागरः Serampore edition, p. 194. Again : उपकरणं धान्यादि, नियमस्थाय, उपवासातिव्रतशीलाय इति दानसागरः। Ibid. 20—3. The work is divided into 70 Sections and devoted to a description of 1375 gifts, the mode of consecrating them, the proper persons to give them to, the time meet for making such gifts, &c. &c. The author enumerates in his introduction the different authorities he had consulted in compiling his work, and as his list gives an idea of the works which were reckoned as standard authorities in his time, 9 hundred years ago, I quote the names given in it.

Puráṇas.	*S'ástras.*	
Brahma.	Vishṇu-dharma.	Yama.
Varáha.	Gopatha Bráhmaṇa.	Yogayajṇavalkya.
Agni.	Rámáyaṇa.	Devala.
Bhavishya.	Mahábhárata.	Baudháyana.
Matsya	Manu.	Ángirasa.
Kúrma.	Vas'ishṭha.	Danavyasa.
Ádya.	Samvarta.	Vrihaspati(?)
Upapuráṇas.	Yájṇavalkya.	S'ankha.
Ádya,	Gotama.	Likhita.
Sámba.	Kátyáyana.	Ápastamba.
Káliká.	Yáváta.	Sátyáana.
Nandi.	Sandána.	Mahá Vyása.
Áditya.	Vṛihaspati.	Laghu Vyása.
Nárasiñha.	Vṛihad Vas'ishṭha.	Laghu Hárita.
Márkaṇḍeya	Hárita.	Chhandoga-paris'ishṭa.
Vishṇudharmottara.	Pulasta.	
	Vishṇu.	
	Sátátapa.	

S'lokas are often repeated by paṇditas, which tradition ascribes to this prince. It is said that once when his son Lakshmaṇa was long absent from

by the system of hereditary nobility which he established in his court than by his devotion to letters. The main object of that system was to give pre-eminence to the descendants of the five Bráhmaṇs and the five Káyasthas who had been brought to Bengal by Ádis'úra. The particular qualities which were to characterise his nobles were "good manners, humility, learning, reputation, pilgrimage, faith, fixed profession, aus-

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home, his daughter-in-law brought the circumstance to his notice by writing the following s'loka on the wall before the place where he used to dine :—

पतत्यविरतं वारि नृत्यन्ति शिखिनो मुदा ।
अद्य कान्तः कृतान्तो वा दुःखस्यान्तं करिष्यति ॥

"The clouds are pouring without intermission and the peacocks are dancing with joy ; on such a day death or my darling alone can remove my suffering."

Touched by it he invited his son back to his home with the following stanza :—

सन्तप्ता वृषभध्वजाद्युगतिना सन्तापिता निर्जले
तूर्य्यं द्वादशवत् द्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशेभस्तनी ।
सा षष्ठी नृपपञ्चमस्य भविता भ्रूसप्तमीवर्जिता
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां प्रथम हे तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

"O thou who art disposed as the second (the Bull—listen.) Alone and oppressed is she with the breasts like the eleventh (pitchers—globes) of the elephant, by the approach of him who has the tenth (Makara on his flag—Cupid), even as are the twelfth (fishes) and the fourth (crab), on the approach of the shark (makara). That sixth (virgo), with eyebrows without compare, (lit. devoid of the seventh—libra), who should belong to the royal fifth (lion—prince is suffering from the pangs of the eighth (scorpio). O first (aries—my son) hasten and be thou the third (gemini)." The play on the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac in this s'loka cannnot be preserved in the English translation.

On another occasion he was himself absent from home for a long time, having been detained in a forest by the charms of a lowly born damsel. The scandal was great, and his son, to stop it, requested his return with the following verse :—

शैत्यं नाम गुणस्तवैव सहजः स्वाभाविकी स्वच्छता
किं ब्रूमः शुचितां भवन्ति शुचयः स्पर्शेन यस्यापरे ।
किञ्चान्यत् कथयामि ते स्तुतिपदं यज्जीविनां जीवनं
त्वञ्चेन्नीचपथेन गच्छसि पयः कस्त्वां निषेद्धुं क्षमः ॥

"Generally cool art thou, O river, and transparent by nature. Of thy purity what can I say ? everything becomes pure by thy touch. What else need

terity, and charity;"* but as there was no standard measures for those qualities, and it was difficult to secure them without attaching penalties to personal delinquencies which could never be enforced, he had recourse to other and more definite means for their perpetuation. He availed himself of the popular notion that children invariably inherit the moral qualities of their parents, and hoped that by maintaining the blood of his newly created nobles pure and undefiled, he would attain his end. He forbad all intermarriage between the original Bráhmaṇs and the Káyasthas of the country and the newcomers, and ordained various and complicated rules for the gradual degradation of those families which should permit any stain to fall on the gentility of their blood, Mesalliances could not, however, be altogether prevented, and the successors of Ballála somewhat encouraged them. by raising the social status of those plebians who succeeded in securing the alliances of kulinas. Wealthy maulikas largely availed themselves of the opportunity which was thus given them of rising in social rank, and the cupidity of our nobility has of late encouraged them by a system of poly-

I tell in thy praise? thou art the life of all living things. And yet, strange to relate, thou flowest downwards and none can withhold thee."

To it the king sent the following reply :—

तापो नापगतास्तृषा न च कृशा धौता न धूली तनो-
र्नस्वच्छन्दमकारि कन्दकवलः का नाम केली कथा ।
दूरोत्क्षिप्तकरेण हन्त करिणा स्पृष्टा न वा पद्मिनी
प्रारब्धो मधुपैरकारणमहो झङ्कारकोलाहलः ॥

"The elephant has not yet soothed his skin nor allayed his thirst; the dust on his body still remains unwashed, and the tuberous roots of the lotus have hitherto not yielded him a mouthful of food, much less an entertainment; the lotus remains untouched by his far projectile arm: verily the bees have raised an unmeaning hue and cry by their murmurs"

The authenticity of these s'lokas is, however, not such as may be relied upon

* Ácharo vinayo vidyá pratishthá tírtha darsanah, nishthá vritti tapo dánam navadhá kula-lakshaṇam. The last word *dana*, "charity" is ordinarily explained to mean alliance, or gift of daughters to nobles.

gamy which has made kulinism in Bengal a positive nuisance to society.

The son and successor of Ballála was Lakshmaṇa Sena. The author of the Bákarganj plate makes him erect altars and pillars of victory at Benares, Allahabad, and Jagannátha, but "it may reasonably be doubted," says Prinsep, "whether these monuments of his greatness ever existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination." His prime minister and Lord Chancellor (Dharmádhikára,) was Haláyudha, son of Dhanaṇjaya, of the Vátsya race, a Bráhmaṇ of great learning, and a descendant of Bhaṭṭanáráyaṇa, the author of the Veṇisañhára. The eldest brother, of his minister was Pas'upati who, wrote a treatise on the *s'ráddha* and other ceremonials, under the title of *Pas'u-pati-paddhati.* The next brother of that minister was a great scholar and professor of Smṛiti and the Mímañsá; he wrote a treatise on the diurnal duties of Bráhmaṇs which still exists—*Áhnika-paddhati.* Haláyudha himself is said to have written several works on Smṛiti, of which the most important is the *Bráhmaṇa-sarvasva.* In it, he describes his patron in the usual grandiloquent terms of his time, but there is nothing in it to show to what he owes his high renown. He is said by the Muhammedan historians to have greatly embellished the city of Gour, and called it after his own name *Lakhnouty* or *Lakshmaṇa-vatí;* but the inscriptions are silent on the subject, as they are as regards the popular belief of Ballála Sena's having built the town of Gour.

Lakshmaṇa was followed successively by his two sons, Mádhava Sena and Kes'ava Sena. The *Rájávalí* brings in a Su, or Súra Sena after Kes'ava, and Muhammadan writers have a Noujib, a Náráyan, a Lakhman, and a Lakhmaniyá to follow him; but no monumental record has yet been found to prove their ever having existed. An As'oka Sena also occurs as one of the kings of Gour, but his position in the list is nowhere defined. Of these, authentic evidence is avail-

able in regard only to Lakhmaniyá. The *Tabkát i Násiri* of Minhájuddín Jowzjáni says that the last king of the Sena dynasty was Lakhmániyá, and this authority must be accepted as correct, as the work was written within fifty-eight years after the conquest of Bengal by Bakhtiár Khilijy, and its author had ample opportunities, during his sojourn in Bengal, of conversing with the contemporaries of Lakhmaniyá who had taken part in that conquest, and of collecting the most authentic information available in his time. The account given in that book is as follows:—

ثقات رواة رحمهم الله چنین روایت کرده اند که چون ذکر شجاعت
و مبارزت و فتوح ملك محمد بختیار رحمه الله براے لکهمنیه رسید که دارالملك
او شهر نودیه بود و او راے بس بزرگ بود و مدت هشتاد سال در تخت بود
و بدین موضع حکایتی از حالات آن راے استعماع افتاده است در قلم آمد ،
و آن آنست ـ که چون پدر آن راے از دنیا نقل کرد این راے لکهمنیه در
شکم مادر بود تاج برشکم مادر او نهادند و همگنان پیش مادر او کمر بستند
و خاندان ایشان را رایان هند بزرگ داشتندے و بمنزلت خلیفهٔ هند شمردندے
چون ولادت لکهمنیه نزدیك رسید و مادرش را آثار وضع حمل ظاهر شد
منجمان و برهمنان را جمع کرد تا طالع وقت را نگاه دارند باتفاق گفتند که اگر
این فرزند درین ساعت ولادت باشد نحوست هرچه تمامتر باشد و بپادشاهي
نرسد و اگر بعد ازین بدو ساعت ولادت باشد مدت هشتاد سال بادشاهي
کند چون مادر او این حکم از منجمان بشنید بفرمود تا او را هردو پائے
برهم بستند و نگونسار در آویختند و منجمان را بنشاندند تا طالع مي نگریستند
و چون وقت شد اتفاق کردند که وقت ولادت آمد بفرمود تا او را فرو گرفتند
در حال لکهمنیه را ولادت بود ـ چون بزمین آمد مادرش از شدت تحمل آن
حالت در گذشت ـ لکهمنیه را بر تخت نهادند و هشتاد سال پادشاهي کرد •

Translation.—"Contemporary historians, on whom be the blessings of God, have thus related: 'that when the news of the valour and the wars and subjugation of kingdoms by Muhammad Bakhtyár, may the mercy of God be on him, reached Lakhmaniyá, the capital of his kingdom was Nuddea. The Ráya was very learned and had sat on the throne for 80 years. It will not be amiss to mention here an anecdote of the Ráya which has come to my knowledge; it is this

When the father of the Ráya passed away from this world Ráya Lakhmaniyá was in his mother's womb. The crown was therefore placed on the womb, and the officers of State all girt themselves and stood round and behind the mother. The family of this prince was known as the Ráya of Ráyas of Hind by the wise men of the time, and reckoned as the viceroys (khalifá) of India. When the time for the birth of Lakhmaniyá approached near, and the mother felt the pains of delivery, the astrologers and Bráhmaṇs were assembled together, so that they may watch the auspicious moment of birth. They unanimously said that should this boy be born immediately, he will be unfortunate in every respect, and he will never attain to royalty. But should he be delivered two hours hence, he will reign for 80 years. When the mother heard this from the astrologers, she ordered that she may be hung up by her two feet as long as the auspicious moment should not come, and the astrologers should be in attendance to watch that moment. When the proper time arrived and the astrologers said that it was at hand, she was taken down. Thus was Lakhmaniyá born; but his mother immediately died of the pains she had been subjected to. Lakhmaniyá was immediately placed on the throne, where he reigned for eighty years."

Three things may be taken for granted in this statement; first that the name of the last king of the Sena dynasty was Lakhmaniyá; second, that he was a posthumous child; and third, that he reigned for a long period. It must be admitted, however, that the word Lakhmaniyá is very unlike a Bengali proper name. The only Bengali or Sanskrit word to which it bears any resemblance is the patronymic*

* The affix *ḍhak* is ordinarily used after feminine nouns, स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् Páṇini iv, I. 120, but under the especial rule *s'ubhrá-dibhyascha* (P. iv, I. 123.) Lakhshmaṇa of the Vas'ishṭha gotra takes that affix. "*Lakshmaṇa syámayorvás'ishṭhe.* I know not whether the Senas were of the Vas'ishṭha gotra, but such niceties of

Lakshmaniyá, "a son, grandson or descendant of Lakshmaṇa," and if it be admitted that the *Lakhmaniyá*, of the Muhammadan historians is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Lákshmaṇeya* it would not be too much to assume that the prince under notice was the grandson of Lakshamaṇa, son of Ballála.

The last name in my list is As'oka; it has puzzled many antiquarians. With the vivid recollection of the name as that of the great patron of Buddhism, they have found it difficult to reconcile with it the idea of a Hindu bearing the name. But the word simply means "griefless," and there is nothing to prevent such a name being given to a Hindu. On the contrary, Hindu mothers and guardians often use terms indicative of immunity from pain, grief and the like as proper names, and, in the case of a posthumous child which lost its mother immediately after its birth, a term implying that it would never have cause to mourn the loss of its parents, would by no means be inappropriate. I take it to be an *alias* of Lákshmaneya, or rather it was the personal name of the prince who was generally known by the affiliative epithet.

The reigns of Mádhava and Kes'ava Sena were short and inconsequential, and it is very likely that Lákhmaṇeya, who succeeded Kes'ava, and reigned in Bengal for a long time, was taken by the Muhammadans to be the immediate successor of Lakshmaṇa, son of Ballála, who had a long and prosperous reign of many years. I adopt this assumption owing as much to the names of Su Sena, Noujib and a second Lakshmaṇa not occurring in any authentic early

grammar were so little attended to in the middle ages that I do not think that anybody would have objection to its use in the case of persons not of the Vas'ishṭha gotra. If such an objection be raised, we must take Lakshmaniyá to be a matronymic, and assume the name of our prince's mother to have been Lakshmaṇa.

document, as to there being no sufficient time available between the dates of Ballála Sena and that of the Muhammadan conquest for the allocation of three reigns, after making the necessary allowance for Lakshmaṇa, Mádhava, Kes'ava, and Lakhmaniyá. It is possible that those reigns were only of a few months' duration each, but there is nothing authentic to support such a theory, and the most probable conjecture appears to me to be that they refer to the dynasty after its expulsion from the delta, and during its short existence in eastern Bengal.

The inscriptions are very unsatisfactory on the subject of dates. The Bákarganj plate professes to have been recorded in the month of Jyaishṭha, in the third year of the king's reign, but does not name any current era. Others give the date of Lakshmaṇa's reign, but allude to no other epoch. The Rájasháhi stone has no date whatever. But it is not difficult to find the probable time when the different members of the Sena dynasty flourished in Bengal. According to the author of the *Samaya-prakás'a*, the *Dánaságara* was written (or completed?) in the S'aka year 1019* = A. D. 1097. Ballála must, therefore, have lived at about the end of the eleventh century, and this accords well with the statement of the 'Ayín i Akbarí which makes that prince commence his reign in the year 1066. Lakshmaṇa, according to Abul Fazel, assumed the sovereignty of Bengal in 1116, which gives a period of 51 years to Ballála. As I shall show presently the last date is not correct. The exact period of Laksmaṇa's reign has not yet been fully determined. Abul Fazel allots to him only 8 years, but Haláyudha, his prime minister, suggests a much longer time. He says that he was in his boyhood made a court paṇḍit, by the king; that in his early manhood, he attained to the rank of a minister; and that

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* निखिलनृपचक्रतिलकश्रीबल्लालसेनदेवेन। पूर्णे नव-शशि-दशमिते शकाब्दे दानसागरो रचितः॥

subsequently he was raised to the office of the Lord Chancellor *Dharmádhikára.** This is not practicable within the space of eight years, and I feel no hesitation in assigning to him fully four times that number of years ; allotting the next three years for Mádhava and Kes'ava, and possibly for Su and Sura Sena should princes of those names be hereafter verified. Prinsep, following the 'Ayín i Akbarí, takes 1136 to be the date of the Bákarganj plate, but as that authority makes Lakhmaniyá begin his regin in the year 1200 A. D. and fly to Orissa three years after, when Minhájuddín, who had ample opportunities of conversing with the contemporaries of Lakshmaṇa, and was himself in Bengal a few years after his overthrow, assures us that that prince reigned for 80 years, we may without compunction reject its evidence as unworthy of belief.

The most important datum for the determination of the age of the Sena rájás is the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena. The credit of first discovering it is due to Colebrooke. In the

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* For those who may be curious on the subject I quote a few stanzas from the *Bráhmaṇa-sarvasva.*

बभूव तस्यां प्रकृतेर्म्महानिव स्थिरो निवासायतनं हलायुधः ।
यत्कीर्त्तिरम्भोनिधिवीचिदण्डदोलाधिरोहव्यसनं बिभर्त्ति ॥
लब्धं जन्म धनञ्जयाद्भगवतः श्रीलक्ष्मणक्ष्मापते-
राहृत्या लघुता निजस्य वयसः प्राप्ता महापात्रता ।
धर्म्मस्य करोदरामलकवद्भोगोत्तरा सत्क्रिये
त्यस्ति प्रार्थयितव्यमस्य कृतिनः किञ्चिन्न सांसारिकम् ॥
येनासीदजितं न सिन्धुलहरी धौताञ्जनायां क्षितौ
यस्यासातमभूच्च सप्तभुवने नानाविधं वाङ्मयं ।
देवः स त्रिजगन्मनस्य महिमा श्रीलक्ष्मणः क्ष्मापति-
र्नैता यस्य मनीषिताधिकपुरस्कारोत्तराः सम्पदः ॥
बाल्ये ख्यापितराजपण्डितपदः श्वेतांशुबिम्बोज्ज्वल-
च्छत्रोत्सिक्तमहामहत्तमपदं दत्वा नवे यौवने ।
यस्मै यौवनशेषयोग्यमखिलक्ष्मापालनारायणः
श्रीमान् लक्ष्मणसेनदेवनृपतिर्धर्म्माधिकारं ददौ ॥

Preface to his translation of the 'Digest of Hindu Laws, he remarked: "Haláyudha, the spiritual adviser of Lakshmaṇa Sena, (a renowned monarch who gave his name to an era of which six hundred and ninety-two years are expired), is the author of Nyáya-sarvas'va, &c." But no notice was afterwards taken of this era, and Prinsep in his 'Useful Tables' entirely passed it over. Subsequently an opportunity offered him when he noticed an inscription from Buddha Gayá,* in which the era of Lakshmaṇa is distinctly mentioned, but he overlooked it. In that record the date is given in these words:

"On Thursday, the 12th of the wane, in the month of Vais'ákha, Sam. or year 74 after the expiration of the reign of the auspicious Lakshmaṇa Sena Deva." Calculated with the datum given by Colebrooke, it would have at once settled the date of Lakshmaṇa Sena; but this was not done.

In 1875, Mr. Westmacott, in his notice of the copper-plate grant from Tarpandighi,† which bore the 7th year of Lakshmaṇa Sena's reign; did not attempt to trace the initial date of the era.

In 1873, I found a MS. of the 'Sadukti-karṇámṛita,' dated S'aka 1500 = 1578 A. D., in the colophon of which the work is described to have been compiled in the S'aka year 1127 = 1205 A. D., which corresponded with some date of Lakshmaṇa Sena which I could not make out. The date is given in words, the meaning of which could not be reconciled; the words are श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षितिपस्य रसैकविंशे। The author was the son of a confidential friend and a general under Lakshmaṇa Sena.‡

Shortly after the publication of my remarks on this MS., in an anonymous article on the life of Váchaspati Mis'ra, published in a Bengali magazine called *Banga Darsana*, an announcement was made that the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena

* Journal A. S., V, p. 659. † Journal A. S., XLIV, p. 13.

‡ Notices o Sanskrit MSS., III., pp. 134—148-9.

was still current in Tirhut, and its date in 1874 was 767, its distinctive mark being ल० सं०, the initial letters of "Lakshmana Sena Samvat." Bábu Rájákrishna Mukarji, who was the author of it, also noticed an inscription of S'iva Siñha, a local chieftain, which bore date the 280th of Lakshmana Sena's era. A brief notice of this article appeared in the 'Indian Antiquary' for 1875. The Bábu, likewise, used this date in an elementary history of Bengal, published in that year. Thus the credit of utilizing the date and bringing it to bear on the history of Bengal is entirely due to him.

In 1877, Pandit Rámanátha Tarkaratna, who is employed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal to collect information regarding Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries, while travelling in Tirhut, collected some information on the subject, and communicated it to me. He also purchased there two old Sanskrit MSS. for the Government of India, which were dated in the era in question. One of them *Anumánáloka-tíká*, a gloss by Madhusúdana Thakkura on the *Anumána Khanda* of Ganges'a, is dated ल० सं० ४७९ चैत्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां । "the 14th of the waxing moon in the month of Chaitra L. S. 479.' The other, *Pratyaksháloka-darpana*, a gloss by Mahes'a Thakkura, on the *Pratyaksha Khanda* of Ganges'a, has वेदाष्टनिगमै-र्युक्ते भूपलक्ष्मणसम्मते । "In the year of the Vedas (4) eight, and the Nigamas (4,) according to the king Lakshmana." I have since obtained several MSS., some of very old age, bearing dates in this era.

Putting these apparently disjointed facts together, we have, first in the Tarpandighi plate the 7th year of Lakshmana's reign. In the Bhágalpur inscription we have the 17th year, and in the Buddha Gayá inscription the 74th year of his era. Then we have in the Sadukti-karnámrita MS. some date which corresponded with the S'aka 1127=1205 A. D. Then comes the S'iva Siñha inscription, dated in the 280th year of that king's era. Then we have two MSS., one

dated in the 459th year, and the other in the 484th of that era. And lastly we have the fact that the era is still current, and in the present year (1878 A. D.) reckons 771. That the era is not a newly devised one, is abundantly evident from the fact of its having been in regular currency all along, and its present figure, therefore, gives us a very correct clue to its initial date. The paṇḍits of Tirhut reckon the era to be a luni-solar one, commencing from the 1st of the luni-solar month of Mágha, and it must have, therefore, commenced in January 1106, A. D. This settles the date of Lakshmaṇa Sena on infinitely more reliable data than what we have for any other Hindu sovereign of the pre-Muhammadan era.

Beginning with 1106, Lakshmaṇa had a very prosperous reign of many years, for his minister Halâyudha informs us, in the preface to his Bráhmaṇa-sarvas'va, that he commenced service when very young as a court paṇḍit, and was successively raised by the king to higher ranks, till he was made a minister when he had become old. A period of 30 years would scarcely be too much for this, and Lakshmaṇa's reign may very fairly be assumed to have extended to nearly the close of the fourth decade of the 12th century. His immediate successors, Mádhava Sena and Kes'ava Sena did not take up much time, certainly not more than two or three years, and the rest of the century was taken up by Lákshmaṇeya *alias* As'oka Sena, the Lakhmaṇiyá of the Muhammadan writers. This adjustment reduces the reign of Lakshmaṇeyá to about 60 years instead of the 80 assigned to it by Minhájuddín; but this is unavoidable.

With the close of As'oka Sena's reign, the sovereignty of the Hindus in the delta passed to the Muhammadans; but the exact time when this happened, yet remains undetermined. When writing my paper on the Sena Rájás for the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I accepted as a fact the opinion then prevalent, that this happened in 1203 A. D.

This, however, has since been questioned. The late Mr. Blochmann, whose researches into the dark points in the Muhammadan history of India were unrivalled, came to the conclusion, that the transfer must have taken place four years earlier, or between 1198 and 1199, whereas Major Raverty, in his translation of Albiruni, removed it 590 H. = 1194 A. D.,* while Mr. Thomas placed it at 599 H. = 1204 A. D. Even the latest of these dates would seem to be a little too early, if we should take the statement of the author of the *Sadukti-karṇámṛita*, who completed his work in 1205, when he described himself as a district Commissioner in the service of Lákshmaṇeya, to mean that his master was then reigning at Nuddea. He could not have held that position in 1205, if the kingdom had passed away to the Muhammadans the year before. But it was possible for him to describe his official rank in his work, even after he had lost it, or to refer to the king when he reigned at Sonárgáoñ after his retirement from Nuddea; for it is now well-known that he and his descendants lived at the latter place for several years after his overthrow by Bakhtiár Khiliji.† Dr. Wise believes that there must have been a Ballála Sena reigning in Vikrampur or Sonárgáoñ after Lakhmaníyá, and Su Sena and Sura Sena, whose names I once took to be *aliases* of Lakhmaníyá, were probably those of other successors. On this point, however, there is no reliable information at hand; and as the question of date is related to Muhammadan history, I shall leave it unnoticed for the present.

Turning to the ancestors of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the first name I have to deal with is that of Ballála. The close of his reign, of course, took place in the year of the commencement of the reign of his son. But when it commenced, remains uncertain. The 'Aín i Akbari makes it begin at 1066,

* Journal As. Soc., XLIV., p. 277. † Journal As. Soc., XLIII., p. 83.

which would give it a duration of 41 years. The authority of Abul Fazl, however, is not great in such matters ; and, as I have rejected it in the case of the Pálas, I cannot consistently accept it in the present instance. This much, however, may be unhesitatingly stated, that Ballála's reign was a long and prosperous one. He is the best known to this day of all the Sena Rájás, and the system of nobility or Kulinism which he organized, exists to this day in full force. None but a powerful sovereign, reigning with considerable eclat for a prolonged period, could have carried out the system so thoroughly as he did ; and a reign of 41 years is after all not so improbable as absolutely to necessitate its rejection.

Of the predecessors of Ballála we have lapidary proofs of four names, Vijaya Sena, Hemanta Sena, Sumanta Sena, and Víra Sena, but no authentic date about any of them. For the present their dates must be fixed by taking averages. At an average of 18 years, their reigns would extend to 994 A. D., or at 20 years, which I have reluctantly assigned to the Pálas, to 986 A. D.

	A. D.
Víra Sena,..	986
Sumanta Sena,................................	1006
Hemanta Sena, ...	1026
Vijaya, *alias* Sukha Sena, ...	1046
Ballála Sena, ...	1066
Lakshmaṇa Sena, ...	1106
Mádhava Sena,................................	1138
Kes'ava Sena, ...	1139
Lákshmaṇeya, *alias* As'oka Sena, ...	1139

The last was overthrown by Bhakhtiár between ....1195 to 1204.

This arrangement brings the age of Víra Sena, probably the first of the family who settled in Bengal, to very near the time which I have assinged to Ádis'úra in my paper on

Mahendrapála,* and it would not be too much to assume that Víra was the immediate successor of Ádis'úra. There is, however, no monumental or any ancient authentic record to prove the date of Ádis'úra. The authorities quoted in my paper agree in bringing him down to the time of Ballála, and must therefore be rejected as false. The author of the *Káyastha-kaustubha* places the advent of the Kanauj Bráhmaṇs in Bengal in the year 380 Bengali or 892 A. D., which is a century wide of the date afforded by my calculations. Pere Tieffenthaler's authorities carry Ádis'úra further back, and place him twenty-two generations away from Ballála. My date of Ádis'úra is founded upon the genealogical tables of the Káyasthas as now current in this country. Those tables give 27 generations from the time of Ádis'úra, and at three generations to a century the time of that prince is carried to 964 of the Christian era. If there be any error in the tables it would no doubt falsify my deduction, but as long as that error is not detected, that deduction will, I expect, command attention. But be that as it may, as far as we are at present informed, it must be admitted that the two princes lived at times very close to each other. It is said by some that Ádis'úra was the father of Ballála; while others maintain that he was the progenitor of the Sena dynasty. The first statement may at once be rejected as inconsistent with the inscriptions and the *Dánaságara;* but the second may be true, and if so, Víra Sena well may be taken to be the same with Ádis'úra, as stated above.

From the above calculations it is obvious that the two dynasties of the Pálas and the Senas, one beginning in the 9th decade and the other in the 7th decade of the 10th century, could not have reigned over the whole of Bengal at the same time, nor could the Senas have followed the Pálas, as the modern Anglo-Indian historians usually make them; but there can

* Journal A. Soc., Vol. XXXIII. p. 325.

be no doubt that both the dynasties did reign in Bengal at the same time. The difficulty, however, may be easily overcome.

It has been already shown that the Pálas occupied western and northern Bengal. There is nothing, however, to show that they had extended their sway to the eastern districts. Whereas tradition assigns to the Senas the whole of the delta and the districts to the east of it. The chief seat of their power was at Vikrampur near Dháká, where the ruins of Ballála's palace are still shown to travellers. Dr. Wise, in his notice of Vikrampur, says—"A remarkable evidence of this is afforded by the names of the 56 villages assigned to the descendants of the Five Bráhmaṇs whom Ádis'ura brought from Kanauj. All those villages were situated within the delta, and none out of it." This is of course an indirect evidence, but it is not the less significant. It may be added that none of those who dwelt out of the delta, in the northern districts, were included in the scheme of Ballála's nobility. The Várendras have since organized a system of their own, but it is not in accord with that which prevails as the system of Ballála.

The religion of the Senas was Hinduism, either of the S'aiva or of the Vaishṇava sect. In the Rájsháhí stone and in the Bákarganj copper-plate, S'iva is the divinity invoked. In the Tarpandighi plate preference is given to Vishṇu or Náráyaṇa, and the epithet Parama-máhes'vara occurs in all the three. The well-known fact of the founder of the family obtaining five Bráhmaṇs to perform Vedic rites which, owing to the dominance of the Buddhists, had become obsolescent in Bengal, clearly shows that they were Hindus, and there is nothing to give rise to suspicion in the matter.

In no part of the world could two such near neighbours as the Pálas and the Senas, professing such antagonistic faiths as Buddhism and Hinduism, co-exist without coming into hostile contact; and in Bengal there is no reason to

suppose that the case was otherwise than what has been elsewhere invariably the result of such neighbourhood. Even chiefs professing the same faith have not been noted for their amity to rivals, and we may, therefore, take it for granted that the Pálas and the Senas frequently fell out with each other, until one expelled the other from the country. When this expulsion took place, it is at present impossible to determine with absolute precision. But materials are not wanting to show that this happened about the middle of the 11th century. It has been already shown that to the time of Mahipála, northern Bengal belonged to the Pálas, and the Tarpandighi plate of Lakshmaṇa Sena, and the prevalence of that sovereign's era in Tirhuṭ to this day, incontestably prove that northern Bengal had come into the possession of the Senas before the commencement of the 12th century. Ballála, the father of Lakshmaṇa, had the title of "King of Gauḍa," and that takes us to the 7th decade of the 11th century; and in the Bhágalpur stone there is a verse which says "Vijaya overthrew the king of Gauḍa." The verse is somewhat involved in its construction, but the most obvious meaning appears to be the following:

"'Thou hast no hero to conquer,' said the bards. On hearing it through a misconception (the words being susceptible of the meaning 'thou hast conquered no hero') the king overthrew the king of Gauḍa, subjugated the hero of Kámarúpa, and quickly conquered him of Kalinga."* At an average reign of 18 years Vijaya must have commenced his reign in 1048. At an average of 20 years the date would be 1046, the overthrow therefore must have taken place between 1046 and 1055. As it is not likely that Mahi-pála's reign had extended beyond 1040, the event must have taken place when Naya-pála, his successor, was the sovereign of Gauḍa. The Pálas then receded from northern Bengal, and reigned

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* *Ante*, XXXIV, p. 144.

for some time in the western districts of the kingdom, making Magadha or Mungher their capital.

The results of these remarks may be thus tabulated :

PÁLA KINGS.		SENA KINGS.	
In Western & Northern Bengal.		*In Eastern & Littoral Bengal.*	
I.—Go-pála, ...	855	I.—Víra Sena, ...	986
II.—Dharma-pála, ...	875	II.—Sumanta Sena, ...	1006
III.—Deva-pála, ...	895	III.—Hemanta Sena, ...	1026
		In the whole of Bengal.	
IV.—Vigraha-pála, I,	915	IV.—Vijaya *alias* Sukha Sena, ...	1046
V.—Náráyaṇa-pála,	935	V.—Ballála Sena, ...	106
VI.—Rájap-ála, ...	955	VI.—Lakshmaṇa Sena,	1106
VII.— — pála, ...	975	VII.—Mádhava Sena, ...	1136
VIII.—Vigraha-pála II,	995	VIII.—Kes'ava Sena, ...	1138
		IX.—Lákshmaṇeya *alias* As'oka Sena	11420
IX.—Mahi-pála, ...	1015 to 1040	*In Vikrampur.*	
		Ballála Sena, ...	
X.—Naya-pála, ...	1040 to ?	Su Sena, ...	
		Sura Sena, &c., ...	
In Behar.			
XI.—Vigraha-pála III and others.			

There is one more circumstance in connexion with the Senas to which I wish to allude, before I conclude,—it is with reference to their caste. The universal belief in Bengal is, that the Senas were of the medical caste, and families of Vaidyas are not wanting in the present day who trace their lineage from Ballála Sena. There is, however, nothing authentic to justify this belief. It is well-known that a great many of the pedigrees given in Burke's *Landed Gentry* are utterly worthless, and it is notorious that many families of obscure origin have their veins filled with the blue blood of generations of kings by the opportune help of popular genealogists, and I feel strongly tempted to believe

that the pedigree of the so called Ballálá's descendants is no better. The *Kulapanjiká* of Kuláchárya Jhákura describes Ádis'úra as the "sun of the Kshatriya race." *(Kshatriya vańs'a hańsa)*; the Bákarganj and the Rájsháhi inscriptions agree in calling the Senas, the descendants of the moon or Kshatriyas of the lunar race (Somavańs'a); the latter describes Sumanta Sena as "a garland for the head of the race of noble Kshatryas"—*Brahma kshatriyáṇám kulos'iro dáma*; and their testimony cannot be rejected in favour of modern tradition. In the Tarpandighi plate there occurs a verse which Mr. Westmacott thus renders into English: "The kings of the race of Aushadhinátha (moon) neutralize the sharp fever poison of their enemies by the lustre of the nails of their feet, as with the juice of the creepers nurtured (as plants with water) by the lustre of the diadems of numbers of kings, prostrate in homage."* The Sundarban plate also ascribes the family to the race of the moon: *Aushadhinátha Vańs'e.* Nor is it difficult to account for the mistake which has given rise to the tradition. There lived in former days in the North-West a race of Kshatriyas of the name of *Ambasṭha.* The Vishṇu Puráṇa alludes to them when enumerating the several races of the North-West-Provinces (मद्रारामास्तथाम्बष्ठाः पारसीकादयस्तथाः) and Páṇini quotes *Ambasṭha* as an example of the same word meaning a Kshatriya race and a country where they live (Páṇini IV, I, 171.) The Mahábhárata uses the word both as the name of a race of Kshatriyas, and that of a Kshatriya king, and the Mediní, the Vis'va-prakás'a and the S'abdaratnákara explain it as the name of a country.† It is very likely that the Senas belonged to this section of the military class, and in Bengal, in later days, was confounded with the *Ambasṭhas* of Manu who

* Journal A. S., XLIV, pt. I, p. 13.

† Goldstücker's Sanskrit Dictionary, voce Ambastha.

were a mixed tribe of Bráhmaṇs and Vais'yas, and therefore taken to be of the medical caste. Such confounding of names and their meanings has been so common in India, that one need not be at all surprised at finding the Senas degraded from a military to a mixed caste, from a misapprehension of the meaning of their name. Abul Fazl, in the *'Ayíní Akbari*, and Pere Tieffenthaler make the Senas to belong to the *Káyastha* caste, and this may be explained by the fact that the Káyasthas in the North-West are, even to this day, called by the name of Ambasthas. If this be not accepted, tradition shall have to be opposed to authentic inscription. James Prinsep noticed in the Bákarganj plate the title of *S'aṅkara Gauḍes'vacra* which, written as the word *s'ankara* is with a palatal *s*, can only mean "the excellent lord of Gauḍa," unless शङ्कर "excellent" be taken as a euphuism of *sankara*, a mixed race. There is a temple in Káshmír known by the name of S'ankara* Gaures'vara, owing probably to its having been erected by order of one of the Sena Rájás. The epigraph of the *Dána-ságara* assigns to Ballála Sena the title of निःशङ्कशङ्कर which, according as the *s* of *Sankara* is taken to be a palatal or a dental, means "undoubtedly the most excellent," "or undoubtly of a mixed race." It is very unlikely that anybody would assume the latter for a distinctive title.

Exception, however, has been taken to the deduction by some of my countrymen, mostly Vaidyas of the Sena family, who claim themselves to be of the royal race, and several Bengali books have been written to prove my error. My critics all labour under the mistake that I wanted to make the Sena kings members of the Káyastha caste, in order to glorify that caste, and enjoy the adantage of a ray of that glory, being myself a Káyastha; but as I have nowhere said anything of the kind, I cannot but leave this part of their criticisms unnoticed. They have created

* Journal A. S., Vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 283.

their own Frankenstein, and I leave them to lay it in the best way they can. The chief arguments which they urge to controvert the statements of the inscriptions are—1st that the statements may be due to poetical license, or a desire to eulogize the kings in an exaggerated style; 2nd, that the reference to the moon, who is, according to the Puráṇic mythology, the lord of medicines, may be due to a desire to make an indirect allusion to the profession of the Vaidya caste; 3rd, that others than Kshatríyas could call themselves descendants of the lunar race; 4th, that Ádis'úra, who is described as a descendant of the lunar race cannot be the same with Víra Sena, for none would employ a synonym to indicate a proper name, and so the epithet of the former cannot apply to the latter.

Little need be said in reply to these arguments. The first is a mere assumption, and not by any means a permissible one. Exaggerations and hyperboles are the chief aliments on which poets most do thrive; but there is not a single authentic instance in which poetical license has been, in India' permitted to invade the domains of caste. The Puráṇas have made mortals conquer the immortal gods, endowed them with the most transendental attributes, called them gods, but never changed their castes; nor have they ever attempted to disown cross sinisters from the escutcheon of the greatest of their kings. And what is true of these Puráṇas, is equally so of later writings, when tenacity for caste distinctions had grown much stronger. It is observable also, that no spirit of poetical hyperbole can be predicated of Ballála Sena describing his own caste in a law treatise by himself.

That the Senas of Bengal were Kshatriyas of the lunar dynasty is borne out by the following extract from the Kṛiyáyoga-sára of the Padma Puráṇa, which makes Su Sena a Somavaṅsi, (fl. 32, p. 1 of my father's MS.)

तस्मिन् क्षेत्रवरे पुण्ये सर्व्वकामफलप्रदे ।
भवेद्राजा सुषेणाख्यः सोमवंशसमुद्भवः ॥

The second argument is ingenious; but it is, like the first, a mere assumption. I have no hesitation in saying, that in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, there is not a single instance in which the caste of the Vaidyas has been indirectly referred to by allusion to the moon. At best it is an attempt to give preëminence to a possible metaphorical interpretation, in preference to an obvious literal meaning. It is observable, too, that the word *Oshadhi* in the epithet *Oshadhinátha* means not medicine in common, but the soma creaper which is not a medicine, but a seasoning for beer.

The third is incorrect. None but a Kshatríya could call himself a member of the lunar or the solar race, and members of those races, when degarded or outcasted, could not retain their claim to the honour of membership under them· The instances cited of Yayátí's children becoming members of different castes refer to the earliest stage of Hindu society, when caste distinctions probably did not exist, or at any rate were not very strictly observed; and even then there is no proof to show that those who were degraded were in the habit of calling themselves members of the solar race. Within the last two thousand years, a Bráhmaṇ or a Kshatríya, condemned to be a Chaṇḍála, has never been permitted to call himself a Bráhmaṇ or a Kshatríya Chaṇḍála. The idea is simply ridiculous.

The fourth argument has already been answered by the parallel case of Go-pála appearing also under the names of Bhu-pála and Loka-pála. Were it otherwise, the argument would not advance in the least, for my antagonists admit that Víra Sena was the great-grandson of Ádis'úra by the daughter's side, and if so, the son-in-law of Bhús'úra and his son-in-law could not be of other than the caste of Ádis'úra. On the whole the arguments are based on a series of supposi-

tions, in order to support a modern tradition against the avowed delarations of authentic contemporary records. I deny the accuracy of the tradition, and my antagonists beg the question at issue, by saying that the tradition must be correct, and the record must be made to conform to it by a number of suppositions. Truth can never be elicited by such a course of reasoning, and it would be a mere waste of time to enter into a disputation with persons who attach greater importance to traditions than to authentic contemporary records.

Transcript of a Copper-plate from Bhágalpur.

१ । स्वस्ति । मैत्रीङ्कारुण्यरत्नप्रमुदितहृदयः

२ । प्रेयसीं सन्दधानः सम्यक्सम्बोधिविद्यासरिदमलज--

३ । लक्षालितात्ज्ञानपङ्कः । जित्वा यः काम--

४ । कारिप्रभवमभिभवं शाश्वतीं प्रा *** यशोऽस्मिं स श्रीमान् लोकनाथो

५ । जयति दशबलोऽन्यश्च गोपालदेवः ॥ लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतनं स(म)मकरोद्वोढं क्षमः क्ष्माभरं पक्षच्छेदभयादु—

६ । पस्थितवतामेकाश्रयो भूभृतां । मर्य्यादापरिपालनैकनिरतः शौर्य्यालयो-ऽस्मादभूद् दुग्धाम्भोधिविलास—

७ । हासिमहिमा श्रीधर्म्मपालो नृपः ॥ जित्वेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीनुपार्ज्जिता येन महोदयश्रीः । दत्ता पुनः

८ । सा बलिनार्थयित्रे चक्रायुधायानतिवामनाय ॥ रामस्येव गृहीतसत्यतपसस्तस्यानुरूपो गुणैः सौमित्रेरुदया—

९ । दितुल्यमहिमा वाक्पालनामानुजः । यः श्रीमान्नयविक्रमैकवसतिर्भ्रातुः स्थितः शासने शून्याः शत्रुपताकिनी—

१० । भिरकरोदेकातपत्रा दिशः ॥ तस्मादुपेन्द्रचरितैर्जगतीम्पुनानः पुत्रो बभूव विजयी जयपालनामा । धर्म्मद्वि –

११ । षां शमयिता युधि देवपाले यः पूर्व्वजे भुवनराज्यसुखान्यनैषीत् ॥ यस्मिन् भ्रातुर्निदेशाद्बलवति परितः प्रस्थिते

२२ । जेतुमाशाः सीदन्नाम्नैव दूरान्निजपुरमजहादुत्कलानामधीशः । आसाञ्चक्रे चिराय प्रणयिपरिवृतो बिभ्रदु—

१२ । च्चेन मूर्ध्ना राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित् स(ं)कथा यस्य चाज्ञां । श्रीमान् विग्रहपालस्तत्सूनुरजातशत्रुरि—

१४ । व । जातः शत्रुवनिताप्रसाधनविलोपिविमलासिजलधारः । रिपवो येन गुर्व्वीणां विपदामास्पदीकृताः । पुरुषायु—

१५। यदीयोर्धानां सुहृदः सम्पदामपि । लक्ष्मेति तस्य जलधेरिव जह्नुकन्या
पत्नी बभूव कृतहैहयवंशभूषा। यस्याः शुची—
१६। नि चरितानि पितुश्च वंशे पत्युश्च पावनविधिः परमो बभूव ।। दिक्-
पालैः क्षितिपालनाय दधतं देहे विभक्ताः
१७। श्रियः श्रीनारायणपालदेवमसृजत्तस्यां स पुण्योत्तरं । यः क्षोणी-
पतिभिः शिरोमणिरुचाश्लिष्टांघ्रिपीठोपलं न्यायोपा—
१८। त्तमलञ्चकार चरितैः स्वैरेव धर्म्मासनं ॥ यतः पुराणैङ्गानि चतुर्व्वर्ग-
विधीनि च। अरिस्मन्ने यतस्यानि चारितानि महीभृतः॥
१९। स्वीकृतः सुजनमनोभिः सत्यायितः महत्ताङ्गनैः स्वीयैः। त्यागे न यो
न्यधत्ताशु देयं मेऽङ्क राजन् कथां ॥ भयादरातिभिर्यस्य रणा—
२०। मूर्धनि विस्फुरन्। असिरिन्दीवरश्यामो ददृशे पीतलोहितः॥ यः
प्रज्ञया च धनुषा च जगद्विनीय नित्यं न्यवीविशद—
२१। नाकुलमात्मधर्म्मैः। यस्यार्थिनः सविधमेत्य भृशं कृतार्था नैवार्थितां
प्रति पुनर्विदधुर्म्मनोयां ॥ श्रीपतिरऽष्टकर्म्मा विद्या—
२२। धरनायको महाभोगी। अनलसदृशोऽपि धाम्ना यश्चिरचलसमश्चरितैः॥
व्याप्तैर्यस्य त्रिजगति शरच्चन्द्रगौरैर्यशो—
२३। भिर्म्मन्ये शोभाञ्च खलु विभरामास रुद्राट्टहासः। सिद्धस्त्रीणामपि
शिरसिजेष्वर्प्पिताः केतकीनां पत्रापीडाः सुचिरम—
२४। भवन् व्यङ्ग्यशब्दानुमेयाः॥ तपो ममास्तु राज्यन्ते द्वाभ्यामुक्तमिदं
द्वयोः। यस्मिन् विग्रहपालेन सगरेण भगीरथे ॥ + स खलु भा—
२५। गीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमाननानाविधनौवाटसम्पादितसेतुबन्धनिहितशैलशि-
खरश्रेणीविभ्रमात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघट्टा—
२६। श्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसन्ततजलदसमयसन्देहात् उदीचीना-
नेकनरपतिप्राभृतीकृताप्रमेयहयवाहिनीखर—
२७। खुरोत्खातधूलीधूसरितदिगन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायाताशेषजम्बु-
द्वीपभूपालानन्तपादात् भरनमदवनेः श्रीमु—
२८। द्गगिरिसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतो महाराजाधि-
राजश्रीविग्रहपालदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः पर—
२९। मभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान्नारायणपालदेवः कुशली। तीर
भुक्तौ कक्षवैषयिकशुमसङ्गाविच्छिन्नतलो—
३०। पेतमकुतिकाग्रामे समुपगताशेषराजपुरुषान्। राजारा—
३१। नक। राजपुत्र। राजामात्य। महासान्धिविग्रहिक। महाक्षपटलिक।
३२। महासामन्त। महासेनापति। महाप्रतीहार। महाकर्त्ताकृतिक। महा
३३। दौःसाधसाधनिक। महादण्डनायक। महाकुमारामात्य। राज—
स्थानीयोपरिक। दाशापराधिक। चौरोद्धरणिक

३४। दाण्डिक। दाण्डपाशिक। शौल्किक। गौल्मिक। क्षेत्रप। प्रान्तपाल।
कोष्ठपाल। खण्डरक्ष। तदायुक्तक। विनियुक्तक। हस्त्य—

३५। श्वोष्ट्रनौबलव्यापृतक। किशोर। वड़वा। गोमहिष्यजाविकाध्यक्ष।
दूतप्रैषणिक। गमागमिक। अभित्वमान। विषयपति।

३६। ग्रामपति। तरिक। गौड़। मालव। खश। हूण। कुलिक। कर्णाट।
लाट। चाट। भट सेवकादीन्। अन्यांश्चाकीर्त्तितान्।

३७। राजपादोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्। महत्तमोत्तमपुरो-
गमेदान्ध्रचण्डालपर्य्यन्तान्। यथार्हं मानयति।

३८। बोधयति। समादिशति च। मतमस्तु भवतां। कलशपोते। महा-
राजाधिराज। श्रीनारायणपालदेवेन स्वयंकारितसहस्रा—

३९। यतनस्य तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितस्य। भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य। पाशुपत
आचार्य्यपरिषदश्च। यथार्हं पूजाबलिचरुसत्रनवक—

४०। र्म्माद्यर्थं। शयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्कारार्थं। अन्येषामपि।
स्वाभिमतानां। स्वपरिकल्पितविभागेन। अमवद्यभो—

४१। गार्थञ्च। यथोपरिलिखितमकुतिकाग्रामः। स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचर-
पर्य्यन्त। सतलः सोद्देशः। साम्रमधूकः। सजल—

४२। स्थलः। सगर्त्तोषरः। सोपरिकरः। सदशापचारः। सचौरोद्धरणः।
परिहृतसर्व्वपीडः। अचाटभटप्रवेशः। अकिञ्चि—

४३। त्प्रग्राह्यः। समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायसमेतः। भूमिच्छिद्र-
न्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत् मातापि—

४४। त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये। भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य शासनी-
कृत्य प्रदत्तः। ततो भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानु—

४५। मन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्दानफलगौरवादपहरणे च महा-
नरकपातभयाद्दानमिदमनुमोद्य पालनीयं प्र—

४६। तिवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्चाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथाकालं समुचितभागभोग
करहिरण्यादिसर्व्वप्रत्यायोपनयः का—

४७। र्य्य इति। संवत् १७ वैशाखदिने ९ तथा च धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः।
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।

४८। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
मोदति भूमिदः। आच्छेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव न—

४९। रके वसेत्॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां। स विष्ठायां
कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥ सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः

५०। पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयः प्रार्थयत्येष रामः। सामान्योऽयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपा-
णां काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण॥ इति क—

५१। मलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। सकलमिदमुदा-
हृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो—

५२ । ष्या: ॥ वेदान्तैरहुगंमततमं (?) वेदिता ब्रह्मतत्त्वं (त्त्वं) यः सर्व्वासु स्मृतिषु परमः साङ्गमङ्गैरपीती (ति) । यो यज्ञानां समुदितमहाभू—

५३ । रिषाणां प्रणेता भट्टः श्रीमानिह स गुरवो दुतकः पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ श्रीमता मद्दयदासेन शुभदासस्य सू(सू)नुना । इदं शा—

५४ । सनमुत्कीर्णं सत्शासतटजन्मना ॥

TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious! May Das'abala, whose heart is resplendent with the jewel of mercy, whose loved mistress is benevolence, whose mind was washed clean of the mud of book-learning by the pure water of the river of perfect Sambodhi knowledge, who, having conquered the promptings of desire *** acquired eternal fame,—may the Lord of the universe prosper.

Now Go-pála Deva made his family the abode of prosperity. (Lakshmí.) Well able to sustain the weight of the earth, the only asylum of kings whose wings having been clipt through fear, sought his protection, always devoted to protect honor, he was the home of heroism. Of him was born the auspicious king Dharma-pála, whose greatness was as beauteous as the ripple of the milky ocean. Having conquered Indrarája and other kings, he (Dharma-pála) earned the glorious S'rí, (goddess of fortune,) whom he presented as a sacrifice, to the father of wealth, Vámana, the wielder of the discus.

Like Ráma, that saintly king had a brother of equal merit, in Vák-pála, who was in glory the counterpart of the son of Sumitrá (Lakshmaṇa). This prince, the abode of justice and valour, living under the rule of his brother, placed all the quarters under one umbrella, by divesting them of all hostile armies.

Unto him was born a son named Jaya-pála, by whose imperial virtues the earth was sanctified. Overcoming all enemies to religion, he established his elder brother, the

heroic Deva-pála, in the dominion of the earth. When by the order of his brother he issued forth to conquer, the lord of Utkala, oppressed from a distance by his very name, forsook his home. Bearing that prince's order on his head, the king of Prágjyotisha, trembling from fear, withdrawing his army, with all his dependents lived under him.

The auspicious Vigraha-pála, enemyless from birth, was born his son. His spotless sword was like the water which wiped away the beauty of the wives of his enemies. By him his enemies were made the objects of heavy misfortune, and his friends long-lived. Lajjá, the ornament of the Haihaya race, became his wife, even as the daughter of Jahnu (Ganges) is that of the Ocean, and her virtuous conduct alike purified her father's and her husband's race.

He, through the essence of the guardians of the quarters, gave birth, in her, for the protection of the earth, to the auspicious Náráyaṇa-pála Deva, the virtuous, whose feet became resplendent by the light of the crown-jewels of kings. He has sanctified his throne by his justice. Kings, forsaking the Lainga Puráṇa, the source of the fourfold blessings, wish to follow his conduct. He is esteemed in the mind of good men, and confirmed (in his position) by his own dependents. By his charity he has suppressed in his country the expression, "give, O king."* Through his fear his sword, though dark as a blue lotus, appears flame-coloured to his enemies. He, by his wisdom and his own virtues, has kept the helpless earth always in the path of justice. Attaining his protection, beggars no longer turn their minds to seeking alms. Lord of

* The words in the original are *Deyam me anga-rájan ;* and the word *anga* may be taken as an interjection=O, or an adjective meaning chief, great or principal, or a noun, the name of a country including the western part of Bengal. In the last two cases the word *rájan* should change into *rája* to be in Samása, the first is therefore the right meaning. But the word has probably been used as a *double entendre.*

wealth, doer of no wrong, patron of learned men, and endowed with great affluence, he is in his glory like unto a blazing fire *(anala)*, and yet by his conduct he is like Nala.* His fame, bright as the rays of the autumnal moon, spread over the three worlds, wears a resplendence which even the loud laughter of S'iva cannot rival, and the garlands of Ketaki flowers on the hands of Siddha ladies (are so eclipsed that their existence can be ascertained only) by the hum of bees (about them). Two persons did say to two others, "let penance be mine and the kingdom thine;" once to him (Náráyaṇa-pála) by Vigraha-pála, and once to Bhagiratha by Sagara.

In his victorious camp in Mudgagiri on the bank of the Bhágirathí river, where he has made a bridge of boats, which seems to rival a line of rocky hills where the roaming of excessively dense (crowds of) elephants has so clouded the glory of day-light, as to produce the impression of an approaching rainy season, where the dust raised by the hoofs of the countless cavalry of the only king of the north, has covered the quarters, where the earth has sunk low by the weight of the innumerable kings of Jambudvípa who had assembled to serve the great lord, the mighty sovereign, the supreme king among kings, the auspicious Náráyaṇa-pála Deva, the successor of the devout follower of Sugata, the supreme king among kings, the auspicious Vigraha-pála Deva, prospers. To subordinate kings (rájaráṇaka), to princes (rájaputra), to the prime Minister (rájámátya), to the Minister of Peace and War (mahá-sandhi-vigrahika), to the Chief Justice (maháksha-paṭalika) to the Generalissimo (mahásámanta), to chief commanders (Mahasenápati), to the grand warder (mahápratihára), to the chief investigator of all works (Ma-

* Nala, the famous king of Vidarbha noticed in the Mahábhárata. The comparison is forced for the sake of the alliteration in the words *nala* and *anala*.

hákartákritika), to the chief obviator of difficulties (mahá-doshasádhasádhanika), to the chief criminal judge (mahádaṇ-ḍa-náyaka), to chief minister of the heir-apparent (mahá-kumárámátya), to viceroys (rájasthánino upádhika), to investigators of crimes (dosháparádhika), to the chief detective officer (choroddharaṇika), to the mace-bearers (dáṇḍika), to the keeper of the instruments of punishment (dáṇḍapás'ika), to collectors of customs (s'aulkika), to commanders of divisions (gaulmika), to supervisors of cultivation (kshetrapa), to boundary rangers (prántapála), to treasurers (koshapála), to superintendents of wards (khaṇḍa-raksha), to inspectors of wards (tadáyuktaka), to the superintendents of appointments (viniyuktaka), to the superintendent of elephants, horses, camels, and war-boats, (hastyas'va-nau-balavyápṛitaka), to the superintendents of mares, colts, cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats (kisora-vaḍavá-go-mahishyajávikádhyaksha), to the chief of swift messengers (drutapeshaṇika), to messengers (gamágamanika), to swift messengers (abhitvamána), to commissioners of districts (vishayapati), to head officers of villages (grámapati), to superintendents of boats (tarika), to (men of the different tribes of) Goda, Málava, Khas'a, Huna, Kulika, Kalláṭa, Láṭa, Cháṭa, and Bhaṭa,*—to all servants and others who are not specified here, to all who have assembled here in the village of Mukuṭika in the division of Kuksha on the bank of the river, as also to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who live by service under the king, from the respected Bráhmaṇ to the lowest Meda, Andha and Chaṇḍála—to all these he sends appropriate greetings and acquaints and commands them. Be it known unto you that in the village of Kalásapota, where Náráyaṇa-pála Deva himself has es-

* Bábu Prànnáth Paṇḍit's paper on the Chittagong plate (Journal A. S. XLIII, pp. 318*f*) and Mr. Westmacott's paper on the Tarpandighi plate, (Journal A. S. XLIV, pp. 1*f*) contain many interesting notes on the meanings of these official titles.

tablished thousands of temples, and where he has placed the honorable S'iva Bhatta and Pasupati Áchárya, I, Náráyana-pála Deva, for purposes of due worship, for the offering of oblations *(charu* and *yajnas,)* for the performance of new ceremonies, and for the dispensation of medicines, bedding and seats, to diseased persons, and for the purpose of enabling them to enjoy without let or hindrance the village as defined, I have given the above-named village of Mukutika, along with its surrounding grazing-grounds, with all the waters and lands belonging to it, above and below the surface, together with the mango and the madhuka trees, with all its low and barren lands, along with its rents and tolls, including all fines for crimes, and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be no molestation, no passage permitted for *Chatas* (jugglers) and *Bhatas* (troops). The land shall not be a trouble (to the possessors) who shall have the enjoyment of all shares, privileges, gold, &c., and other income. I grant this to be enjoyed as many years as there are holes in the earth, and as long as the sun and the moon shall endure, in order that the virtue and fame of my parents and of myself may be enhanced. I have given this edict engraved to you, honorable S'iva.

Be it then respected by all ; and future kings, knowing the grievous sin that is incurred by destroying the great merit of grants-of-land, should uphold it. Let the neighbours and those who till the land, be obedient to my commands. They should render to the donees their respective shares, privileges, rent, gold, and all other dues. Dated the 9th Vais'ákha, Samvat 17.

The following are excerpts for those who dread the mandates of virtue :

The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many other kings. The fruit (of grants-of-land) belongs to him to whom the land belongs for the time.

The donor of land enjoys heaven for sixty thousand years,

He who abrogates or prompts others to abrogate sucn a gift, suffers in hell for a like period.

He who resumes land given by him or others, becoming a worm, rots in ordure along with his forefathers.

Again and again doth Ráma entreat all future kings to protect this common bridge of virtue.

Knowing riches and life to be as unsteady as water on a lotus petal, no man should intentionally attempt to deprive another of his reputation.

Bhaṭṭa Gurava, the spiritual guide of the king, the proficient in the difficult knowledge of God through the Vedánta, versed in all the Vedas and the Vedángas, and the most proficient in the performance of sacrificial rites, has composed this. Mudgadása, son of Subhadása, an inhabitant of Satsámataṭa, has engraved this edict.

XIV.

ON THE PECULIARITIES OF THE GÁTHÁ DIALECT.

Tendency of languages to change. The first step in the transition of the Sanskrit into the modern vernaculars of India. Gáthá. Origin of its name. Its relation to Sanskrit. English illustration. Where it is found. Its peculiarities. Changes produced by exigencies of metre; by provincialisms; by neglect of syntax and prosody. Prolongation, contraction, and elision of vowels. Elision of consonants. Segregation of compound consonants. Neglect of gender, number, and case. Abbreviations and omission of declensions. Corruptions of pronouns. New forms of conjugation. Examples quoted by Dr. Muir. Origin of the dialect. Burnouf's opinion. Exception taken to that opinion. Author's opinion. Max Müller, Weber, and Muir's remarks thereon. Benfrey's opinion. Remarks thereon. Age of the Gáthá.



IT is an established truth in the science of Philology that languages change in course of time, even when uninfluenced by the intrusion of foreign elements. This process of mutation is most clearly exemplified in the transition of the Latin into the modern dialects of Italy, which have assumed their present forms by a series of phonetic changes from the influence of the *genius loci* without any such heterogeneous admixture as are met with in the languages of England and France. In India Sanskrit has undergone the same course of transformation, and, like the Latin, has produced a number of Prákṛit or vernacular dialects by a process of curtailment of inflexions and euphony to which the Roman and Germanic languages of Europe offer the nearest parallel.

Of the dialects which have proceeded from the Sanskrit, the Páli and the Mágadhi have hitherto been supposed to

bear the closest resemblance to their parent, but the discovery of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepâl (thanks to the untiring zeal of the learned Mr. Hodgson,) has brought to our knowledge a new dialect bearing a still closer affinity to the classic language of the East than either of the former. It occurs in the literature in question, in the form of ballads introduced in the body of prose texts in pure Sanskrit. Nepâlese chroniclers call this species of poetry by the generic name of Gáthá (ballad), probably from its having been principally used by the scalds and bards of mediæval India. For nearly a similar reason, the Balenese style the language of their poets the *Káwi* or 'poetical,' and the language of the Vedas is called *Chhandas* (metrical), whence by a well-known euphonic law, we have the Zend of the old Persians. M. Burnouf, the first European scholar who noticed these poetical effusions, describes their language "to be a barbarous Sanskrit in which the forms of ages, of Sanskrit, Páli, and Prákṛit, appear to be confounded."

The Gáhtá differs from the Sanskrit more in its neglect of the grammatical rules of the latter than from any inherent peculiarity of its own. The niceties of the Sanskrit forms of declension and conjugation find but a very indifferent attention from the Gạthá versifier; he uses or rejects the usual case-affixes according to the exigencies of his metre with as much veneration for the rules of Páṇini as the West Indian Negro has for those of Lindley Murray; indeed, the best illustration that can be given of the relation which exists between the Sanskrit, the Gáthá and the Páli, would be extracts from the literature of the Negroes. The following paragraph from a Negro version of the New Testament by some Moravian Missionaries bears exactly the same relation to the English of the *Times* newspaper, as the Páli does to the Sanskrit of the Puráṇas, and the affinity of its translation to the same standard, may be very appropriately

likened to that of the Gáthá to the Bráhmaṇic language of the gods.

"Dric deh na bakka, dem holi wan bruiloft na Cana na Galilee, en mamma va Jesus been ee dapeh. 2. Ma dem ben kali Jesus nanga him disciple toe va kom na da bruiloft. 3. En tah wieni kaba, mamma va Jesus takki na him, dem no habi wieni morro. 4. Jesus takki na him, nu mamma noe worko me habi nanga Joe. Tem va mi noben kom Jette."

Translation.—"Three days after back, them hold one marriage in Cana of Galilee, and mamma of Jesus been there. 2. But them been call Jesus with him disciples to come to that marriage. 3. And when wine end, mamma of Jesus talk to him: Them no have wine more. 4. Jesus talk to him, me mamma how work me have with you, time of me no come yet."

The Gáthá exists only in a versified form, and is to be met with in that class of Buddhist writings called the *Maháraipulya* or the "highly developed" Sútras. It occurs generally at the end, and not unoften in the middle, but never at the commencement of a chapter, and contains a poetical abstract of the subject described in the prose portion of the works. Its peculiarities are those of a language in a state of transition; it professes to be Sanskrit, and yet does not faithfully conform to its rules. In it we find the old forms of the Sanskrit grammar gradually losing their expressive power, and prepositions and periphrastic expressions supplying their places, and time-hallowed verbs and conjugations juxtaposed to vulgar slangs and uncouth provincialisms. At one place, orthography is sacrificed for the sake of prosody, and a word of a single short syllable is inflated into one of three syllables, while at others the latter yields to the former, and a molossus supplies the place of a pyrrhic or a tribrach. A spirit of economy

pervades the whole, and syllables and words are retrenched and modified with an unsparing hand. According to M. Burnouf, instances of these peculiarities occur in most of the works of the highly developed class, and I have noticed them in several works, but as those works have not yet been printed I shall confine my remarks to what have been met with in my edition of the Lalita Vistara. These appear generally to be referable to, (A) exigencies of metre, (B) provincialisms, and (C) errors of syntax and prosody, either accidental or current in the age when the poetry of the Gáthá was composed.

A. Of the changes which may be attributed to the exigencies of metre, (α) prolongation, (β) contraction, (γ) and elision of vowels, (δ) elisions of consonants, (ε) and the segregation of compound consonants and long vowels into their simple elements, appear to be the most frequent. I shall quote a few instances.

(α) Of the prolongation of vowels the follwing may be taken as examples. They are not so frequently met with as contractions.

ना च for न च	ते for ता:
सो च for स च	स्मितासुखो for स्मितसुखो
प्रयातो for प्रायात:	छत्रापताक for छत्रपताका
रोदमान for रुदमान	करोथ for कुरुथ

(β) Of contractions of vowels, instances occur almost in every s'loka. They are generally effected by the use of short for long vowels, and the substitution of i and u for é, ai, o and au. For example :

यामि for यामे	च्युप्र for च्युप्रा
धरेन्ति for धारयन्ति	भवि for भावि
द्रुमवर for द्रुमवरा:	लभेन for लाभेन
माय for माया	प्रमद for प्रमदा
घणट for घणटा	प्रभ for प्रभा
पुजमेतां for पूजामेतां	वर्णित परिगत for वर्णिता पारगता

यथ for यथा
तथ for तथा
सद for सदा
मिथ्यप्रयोग for मिथ्याप्रयोग
कृपकरणं for कृपाकरणां
अस्य for अस्याः
मय for मया

(γ.) Elisions of vowels and consonants are also very frequent; they are effected principally with a view to economy and euphony. Final *s*'es are invariably elided, and the words declined as if they had ended in vowels. This evidently bears some relation to the rule which says, " all words with *s* final may be used as having a final : *sarve sántáh adantás'cha.* In the Vedas this peculiarity is frequently noticed. Take for instance :

नभे for नभसि
अप्सरा: for अप्सरस:
सदार्चिस्कान्वे for सदार्चिषस्कान्वे
इम दृष्ट वस्थां for इमां दृष्टा अवस्थां
निश्चरो for निश्चचार
प्रविधेन्ति for प्रविधायन्ति
गेहि for गेहे
मना for मनस:
एन for एतेन
नृपति for नृपते
जानमि for जानामि
उदरि for उदरे
सजगे for सर्व्वजगते
सर्व for सर्व्वे

(δ.) Of the division of long vowels and compound consonants into their short and simple elements, the following are intances of constant occurrence :

रातिये for रात्र्याः or रात्र्याम्
तुरियेभि: for तुर्य्येभ्य:
गिलानो for ग्लानो
इस्त्रि for स्त्री
तुरिय for तुर्य्य
अकिलान्तक for अक्लान्तक
किलेश for क्लेश
हिरि for ह्री
शिरी for श्री
देविये for देव्या:
पूजाराहम् for पूजार्हम्
पदुमानि for पद्मानि
दानचरिया for दानचर्य्या
सुपिन for स्वप्न
वियूह for व्यूह
रतन for रत्ने
शाकियानां for शाक्यानां
नारियर for नार्य्या
वजिरिकाय for वज्रकाय
शक्तितं for शक्तं
शुकुल for शुक्ल
न्यसिय for न्यस्य
आभुजिय for आभुज्य
अकम्पिय for अकम्प्य:

(ε.) The tendency to segregation of aspirated conso-

nants forms a principal characteristic of mediæval and modern Indian phonology. The Páli and the Prákṛit owe their origin entirely to this cause; the Hindi and the Márhaṭṭi indulge in it to a large extent; and the Bengáli is not exempt from its influence. The process, however, of effecting this change is not uniform. In languages with a strong vocalic tendency, the sharpness of compound consonants is filed off by the elision of the first letter and the re-duplication of the second. Thus *abja* (lotus) is converted into *ajja*; *karma* (work) to *kamma*. In compounds of a liquid and an aspirated letter, the former is invariably elided without reference to its position, and accordingly "*padma*" (lotus) is changed to *padda*, "*sadma*" (house) into *sadda*, and *haridrá* (turmeric) into *haliddá*. The Italian, which is by far the most vocalic of all European languages, has this tendency in a prominent degree. In it the Latin *subjunctivus* passes into *saggiuntivo*, *perfectio* into *perfetto*, *absorbeo* into *assorbire*, &c., &c. In languages which abound in consonantal finals, compound consonants are segregated by the interposition of a vowel between them, the final vowel being occasionally elided; thus in the Hindi, the Sanskrit word "*marma*" (a joint) is, by the interposition of an *a* after the *r* and the elision of the final *a*, converted into *maram*; *dharam*, *karam* and *parab* are instances of the effect of the same rules. These rules, however, are not universal in their application, and exceptions are very frequent.

B. The provincialisms of the Gáthá include (α) neglect of gender, number and case, (β) abbreviations and omissions of declensions, (γ) corruption of pronouns, and (δ) new forms of conjugation.

α.—Of the neglect of gender, number and case, the following may be taken as examples:

विद्युद्निर्म्मलं for विद्युद्निर्म्मलानि p. 292 (singular for plural).

बुद्धक्षेत्रं for बुद्धक्षेत्राणि p. 292 (ditto).

तानपि for तावपि p. 291 (plural for dual).
आशनिमा for आशनात् p. 177 (instrumental for ablative).
बोधिसुवट for बोधिसुवटात् p. 462 (objective for ablative).
ऊर्द्ध हस्ता for ऊर्द्धौ हस्तौ p. 324 (plural for dual).
केचिदेकपादे for केचिदेकपादेन p. 324 (locative for instrumental).
त्रिलोकं for त्रिलोकी p. 316 (neuter for feminine).
कारणां for कारणानि p. 325 (singular feminine for plural neuter).
नक्षत्राः for नक्षत्राणि p. 236 (masculine for neuter).
मुक्ताहारं for मुक्ताहारः p. 237 (dative for nominative).
मस्तकं for मस्तकः p. 237 (ditto).

β.—Under the head of abbreviations and omissions of declension, the most remarkable peculiarity appears to be the use of उ in the room of all flectional affixes. This helps in a great measure to give sweetness and variety to the style, but at the same time it contributes to render the meaning dubious, and the study of the Gáthá a matter of great difficulty to those who have nothing but their knowledge of the Sanskrit grammar to help them. In the Páli and the Prákrit, the use of this occasional substitute is confined to the first person of the nominative singular. In the Brajabhákhá, however, it has a much wider range. In the following verse, it is used both for the nominative and the dative, as well as a euphonic adjunct to verbs in the second person of the indicative:

मो ते कहा मसकरौ करहु । कुवचन बोले तुमहि मरहु ।
पोपाके मन उपजे रोहु । भली कहत कत लावे दोहु ।*

The use of the *u* in Gáthá, is made with much reserve, and the regular inflections of the Sanskrit prevail. The locative *i* (इ) is not subject, as in the Sanskrit, to any change of form by association with a vowel. In the vocative a long *á* (आ) is the most approved case-affix. In some cases, however, inflections are altogether dropped.

γ.—The following are the corruptions of pronouns which are frequently met with in the Lalita Vistara. They ap-

* De Tassy's Chrestomathie Hindie, p. 79.

parently lead the way to the formation of pronouns in the modern vernaculars.

मह्य for मम and मत्तः	मि for मह्यं and मया
तुभ्य for त्वय, त्वां and तव	ति for त्वया
अयु for एषः	तया for तस्य
ते for ता	अनभिः for एभिः
कहिं for कुत्र and केन	

8—The new forms of conjugation observable in the Gáthá are attributable mostly to corrupt pronunciation; they follow no fixed rule, and are the results of that natural tendency to abbreviation which in English originates "won't" from "will not," and "shan't" from "shall not." The following are a few examples, in addition to what have been adduced above under other heads :

ददमि or देमि for ददामि	स्थः for अस्थः
विनये for व्यवृणोत्	आसि for अस्ति
भोसि for भवसि	सुञ्चि for असुञ्चन्
भोति for भवति	अजनेहि for माजनय
भोन्ति for भवन्ति	रमिष्यसि for रंस्यसे
भेष्य for भविष्यामि व-म-ति-तः अन्ति-स-थः-थ	आरुहि for अरोहत्
भवोति for भवति	अरणो or रणो for अरणत्
अभूविः for अभूः	उत्थि for उत्तिष्ठ
अवभूवन् for अभूवन्	शृणुवन्तो for शृण्वन्ति
भवि for भविष्यसि and भवामि	दद for ददस्व
भविय and भविया for भवेत्	शृणोहि for शृणु
भेहि for भव	प्रेक्षेमि for पश्यामि
भविया and भविय for भूत्वा	सुञ्चमो for असुञ्च
अनुभवियां for अनुभूय	परिकथ for परिकथय
प्रभामि and प्रभाम for प्रभवामि and प्रभाम	न्यसो for निदधुः
ओरुहित्वा for अवरुह्य	शुणित्वा for श्रुत्वा
सगुपयिसु for गापयामासुः	जनेन्ति for जनयन्ति
त्यजहि for हित्वा	दर्शेन्ति for दर्शयन्ति
बुध्वित्व for बुद्धा	जनेहि for जनय
	मोचेहि for मोचय

एन्ति for आयान्ति   बोधेहि for बोधय
उपेन्ति for उपयन्ति   पूरेहि for पूरय

It may be remarked that the corruptions above quoted are, in many instances, the precursors of forms adopted in other affiliated dialects. In Sanskrit the third person singular of the verb *to be* is *Bhavati*, which in the Gáthá changes to *Bhoti* by the conversion of the *v* into *o* and the elision of the *a* before and after it, (*Bhonti* in the plural and *Bhosi* in the second person singular,) and thence we have *hoti*, *hosi* and *honti* in the Mágadhi; *Hae* and *Haen* in the Khariboli, and *áhe*, *ahet* and *ahes* in the Marhaṭṭi. In the Hindi, notwithstanding the re-duplication of the root in *hotáhae*, the original form is still distinctly indicated. *S'unitvá* for *s'rutvá* is the first step to the formation of *s'uniá* in Bengali, while *s'unohi* passes into *s'uno* with nothing but the elision of an inflection, which, in the original Sanskrit, is oftener omitted than retained.

In connexion with this part of my subject the following remarks of Dr. John Muir will be read with interest. I quote them from the second volume of his invaluable 'Sanskrit Texts,' pp. 119 to 122.

"There are, however, some other forms discoverable in the Gáthá dialect which have been either passed over, or but briefly noticed by Bábu Rájendralál, and which yet present some points of remarkable interest. Thus the plural instrumental in *ebhih*, which is so general in the Vedas, is in constant use in the Gáthás also, as in the instances *s'a'kiyebhih*, *sattvebhih*, *gunebhih*, *simhasanebhih*, *darakebhih*, *chetakebhih*, employed instead of the form, *s'a'kyaih*, *sattvaih*, etc., which is alone current in modern Sanskrit. It is from this older form in *ebhih* that the Páli form of the same case in *ebhi*, or *ehi*, is derived, as in the word *buddhebhi*, or *buddhehi* (Clough, Páli Gram., p. 19). Again, we find in the Gáthás various other cases besides those above noticed in which the case-terminations of the declension in *a* are substituted, in the case of words ending in consonants, for those proper to the latter form of declension. Thus, for *jagataḥ* and *jagati* (the gen. and loc. of *jagat*), we have *jagasya* and *jage;* for *námná* (instr. of *náman)*, we have *námena;* for *mahatma'nam* we have *mahatmam;* for *anantayas'asam* we have *anantayas'am;* for *karmaṇaḥ* (gen. of *karman*) we have *karmasya;* and for *duhitaram*, accusative of the word *duhitṛi* (ending in *ṛi*), we have *duhitám*, the accusative of feminine nouns ending in *á*. This

change is one to which the Páli inclines (as in the form *Brahmassa*, as one of the genitives of Brahman), and to which a still more decided tendency is observable in the Prákṛit. (See Cowell's Prákṛit Gram. Introd., pp. XXIII., XXIV.) On the other hand, we find also in the Gáthás instances of the quite different change of *e* into *i* in the locative, as *loki*, *gehi*, *udari*, for the proper forms *loke*, *gehe*, *udare*. The particle *api (also)* is contracted to *pi*, as in Prákṛit; thus we have *ahampi* for *aham api*, *tubhyampi* for *tubhyam api* *vayampi* for *vayam api*, *napi* for *nápi* : *tathapi* for *tatha'pi*, *punopi* for *punar api* : so also *iti* is contracted to *ti*, as in *ahanti* for *aham iti*. Again, we have the peculiar forms *jihmi*, *jihma*, and *jaha* for *yathá* : *yathariva* for *yathaiva* (precisely as in Páli, Clough's Gram., p. 11); *séti* for *smriti* : *pathe* for *pathesha*, and *ishṭikán* for *yashṭidhárakán* (mace-bearers).

Many of the changes in the Gáthá verbs are in part the same which we find in Páli. Thus, for the correct Sanskrit forms *chodayanti*, *tarpayishyanti*, *nivarttayati* and *dhárayanti*, we have *chodenti*, *tarpeshyati*, *nivartteti*, and *dharenti*, which, in Páli, would be *chodenti*, *tappessati*, *nivatteti*, and *dharenti*. Again, for *avalambate* we have *olambate*, which would take the same form in Páli. The modifications *avachi* for *avochat*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *gachchhi* for *agachchhat*, *dhyayi* for *adhyayat*, correspond in some measure to such Páli forms as *akasi* for *aka'rshít*, *ahasi* for *aharshít*, *adasi* for *adat*, *ahosi* for *abhút*, *atthási* for *asthat*, *abadhi* for *abadhít*, etc.: and *snapinsum* for *snapayamasuh* or *asisnapan*, is nearly the same as the Páli form *apachinsu*, the third person plural of the third preterite. The Gáthá forms *dars'ishyasi* for *drakshyasi*, *sunishyati* for *s'roshyati*, *kshipishyati* for *kshepsyati*, and *spris'ishyati* for *sparkshyati* or *sprakshyati*, are analogous to the Páli forms *vedissa'mi* for *vetsya'mi*, *bhunjissa'mi* for *bhokshya'mi*, and *dessissa'mi* for *dekshya'mi*. The Gáthá past indeclinable particles also, such as *bhavitva*, *ramitva*, *hanitva*, *labhitva*, *stuvitva*, *manitva*, *vijihitva*, *sunitva*, *spris'itva* for *bhútvá*, *mantvá*, *hatva'*, *labdhvá*, *stutva'*, *matva'*, *vi*+*hitva*, *s'rutvá* and *sprishtva'*, are formed on the same principle as the similar Páli ones, *pavisitva*, *janitva*, *bhunjitva*, for *pra*+*veshtva*, *jña'tva'*, and *bhuktva'*. Of the forms *karitya* and *kariyana* for *kṛitva'* the latter coincides in its termination with such Páli forms as *sutvana* and *disvana* for *s'rutva'* and *drishṭva'*. Again, we have the forms *kampayanto*, *varayanto*, *vinishkramanto*, *viryavanto* (part. nom. sing.), for *kampayan*, etc., which coincides with the Páli and Prákṛit. The same may be said of *pekshasi* for *prekshase* : *tava* for *tavat* : *smarahi*, *kurva*, *kurvahi*, *bhaṇahi*, *vasahi*, for *smara*, *kuru*, *bhana* and *vasa* respectively; *deviye* and *da'viye* for *devyah* : *tapasmi* for *tapasi* ; *talasmin* for *tale* : *arhantebhih* for *arhadbhih* ; *prabhaya'* for *prabha'ya*, *vachaya'* for *vacha*. For *tyaktva'* I find, the word *chhorayitva'*, which does not seem to be much used in Sanskrit, though Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives *chhorana* in the sense of "leaving." I quote the following additional anomalous forms viz., *pithita* for *pishta*, *pithita'ni* for *prathita'ni*, *visnapi* for *vyasnapayan*, *snapit* for *snapayitva'*, *kshipinsu* for *kshi-*

panti, *bhaviya* for *bhavet*, *pratishthihitva* for *pratishtha'ya*, *datti* for *dadati*, *deti* for *dadati*, *dasmi* for *dásyámi*, *diyatu* for *diyatám*, *darthi* for *dadatah*, *daditu* for *dátum*, *deti*, *dadia*, and *dadiya* for *dattvá* : *kurumi* for *karomi*, *karonti* for *kurvanti*, or *karihyanti* ; *karoma* for *karishyámah* : *kareya* for *kuryuh* ; *karitya*, *kariye*, and *kuriya* for *kritvá* : *prakarohi* for *prakuru* : *grihitya*, *grahiya* for *grihitvá* ; *bhinanmi* for *bhinadmi* : *vademi* for *vadámi* : *vyusthaya* for *vyutthaya* ; *sthihiyá* for *sthitva'* : *utthihitva* for *utthaya* : *aruhitya* for *a'ruhya* *parahaniya* for *parahatya* *utthihet* for *uttishthet* : *charoti* for *charati* : *minitva* for *matva'* ; *s'akkitam* and *s'aktitam* for *s'aktam* : *uchchhrepaya* for *utkshepaya* : *miyati* for *mriyate* : *púrima* for *púrva* ; *vidu* for *vidvan* : *vidubhih* for *vidvadbhih* ; *labhase* for *labhaya* : *samskritatah* for *samskritat*, or *samskritatah* : *janami* for *ja'na'mi* : *bhasi* for *bha'shate* : *vinenti* for *vineshyati* ; *janeshi* or *janaishi*, for *janaishyati* : *adris'uh* for *adrakshuh* : *pas'yeta* for *dris'yate* ; *adhyeshtu* for *adhyetum* : *chintaya* for *chintayitvá'* : *vadami* for *vada'mi* : *vandima* for *vanda'mahe* ; *atikrametum* for *atikramitum*. (In all these cases, I should observe, the Sanskrit equivalents are given according to the notes in the printed edition of the Lalita Vistara.) Nouns and participles are frequently lengthened by the addition of the syllable *ka* as *rodantako*, *gachhamanake*, *baushamanikah*, *dadantikah*, *roditavyakah*, *agatikah dasinikah* for *rudan* (or rather *rodanto*), *gachhamane*, *bhashamanah*, *dadatyah*, *roditavyah*, *agktah*, *dasikah*. This insertion of *ka* is also to be noticed in the following verses of the Vájasaneyi Sañhitá, xxiii. 22, f.; where *yaka* and *asakau*, *yakah* and *asakau*, stand for *ya*, *yah*, and *asau*.

Very peculiar is the use of the *a* privative in *ajanehi* for *ma janaya*, "do not cause."

The use of abbreviated, or otherwise irregular, forms, such as *labhi* for *lapsyase*, or *labdhah*, *gachchi* for *agachhat*, *chali* for *chalità*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *avachi* for *avochat*, *nives'ayi* for *nives'itah*, *chhadayi* for *chhadayati*, *prichari* for *prachyacharah* and *paricharini*, *varichri* for *varacharanam*, *tyaji* for *tyaktva'*, *tyaktva'*, and *tyaktavan*, *smari* for *smritam* and *smaranam*, *varshi* for *varshitva'*, *vraji* for *avrajat*, *spars'i* for *sprashtum*, *utthi for uttishtha* and *utthaya*, is extremely common, and, as will be seen from the equivalents following each word, these forms are very variously interpreted by the commentator, and supposed to stand for verbs in the present, past, and future tense, and in the imperative mood, and for participles active and passive, as well as for nouns. The penultimate syllable of verbs is very often lenghtened, as in the Vedic *let* form as in *mochayati*, *dharshayati*, *sahati*, *labhati*, *dris'asi*, *vrajasi*, for *mochayáti*, etc., for which the commentator generally substitutes the present tense, but sometimes the past, and sometimes the future. This form is even found with the augment in *adirs'asi*, rendered by the commentator *pas'yati* or *adrákshit*.

C. In the collocation of words and phrases the Gáthá strictly follows the rules of Sanskrit Syntax, but in the for-

mation of compound terms it admits of many licenses highly offensive to the canons of Páṇini and his commentators They seem, however, to be the consequence of haste, inattention, and colloqualism, and are not referable to any dialectic peculiarity. The same may be said of the errors of Prosody which, notwithstanding the anxiety of the Gáthá versifiers to avoid false metre even at the expense of etymology, prevail to a great extent in their compositions. In this respect the Gáthá may be likened to the Kabits of the Bháṭs of modern India, who, in their attempt to combine freedom of elocution, harmony and grammar in their improvisations, sadly offend against all three.

Of the origin of the Gáthá, nothing appears to be known for certain. M. Burnouf is inclined to attribute it to ignorance. He says:—

"This fact (the difference of language of the different parts of the Vaipulya Sútras) indicates in the clearest manner that there was another digest (of the Buddhist literature prepared, besides those of the three convocations), and it agrees with the development of the poetical pieces in which these impurities occur, in shewing that those pieces do not proceed from the same hand to which the simple Sútras owe their origin. There is nothing in the books characterised by this difference of language, which throws the smallest light on its origin. Are we to look on this as the use of a popular style which may have developed itself subsequent to the preaching of S'ákya, and which would thus be intermediate between the regular Sanskrit and the Páli,—a dialect entirely derived from, and manifestly posterior to the Sanskrit? Or should we rather regard it as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in the learned language, which they ill understood, with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popula but imperfectly-determined dialect? It will be for history to

decide which of these two solutions is correct; to my mind the second appears to be the more probable one, but direct evidence being wanting, we are reduced to the inductions furnished by the very few facts as yet known. Now, these facts are not all to be found in the Nepâlese collection; it is indispensably necessary, in order to understand the question in all its bearings, to consult for an instant the Singalese collection and the traditions of the Buddhists of the South. What we thence learn is, that the sacred texts are there written in Páli; that is to say, in a dialect derived immediately from the learned idiom of the Bráhmaṇs, and which differs very little from the dialect which is found on the most ancient Buddhist monuments in India. Is it in this dialect that the poetical portions of the great Sútras are composed? By no means; the style of these portions is an indescribable mèlange in which incorrect Sanskrit bristles with forms of which some are entirely Páli, and others popular in the most general sense of the term. There is no geographical name to bestow upon a language of this kind; but it is at the same time intelligible how such a jargon may have been produced in places where the Sanskrit was not studied systematically, and in the midst of populations which had never spoken it, or had known only the dialects derived more or less remotely from the primitive source. I incline then to the belief that this part of the great Sútras must have been written out of India, or, to express myself more precisely, in countries situated on the western side of the Indus, or in Káshmír, for example; countries where the learned language of Bráhmaṇism and Buddhism would be cultivated with less success than in Central India. It appears to me almost impossible that the jargon of these poems could have been produced in an epoch when Buddhism flourished in Hindustán. There, in fact, the priests had no other choice but between these two idioms; either the Sanskrit, *i e.*, the language which prevails in the compositions

collected in Nepal, or the Páli, that is the dialect which is found on the ancient Buddhist inscriptions of India, and which has been adopted by the Buddhists of Ceylon."*

This opinion, I venture to think, is founded on a mistaken estimate of Sanskrit style. The poetry of the Gáthá has much artistic elegance which at once indicates that it is not the composition of men who were ignorant of the first principles of grammar. Its authors display a great deal of learning, and discuss the subtlest questions of logic and metaphysics with much tact and ability, and it is difficult to conceive that men who were perfectly familiar with the most intricate forms of Sanskrit logic; who expressed the most abstruse metaphysical ideas in precise and often in beautiful language; who composed with ease and elegance in *Árya*, *Toṭaka* and other difficult measures; were unacquainted with the rudiments of the language in which they wrote, and even unable to conjugate the verb *to be* in all its forms. This difficulty is greatly enhanced, when it is borne in mind that the prose portion of the Vaipulya Sútras is written in perfectly pure Sanskrit, and has no trace whatever of the provincialisms and popular forms so abundant in the poetry. If these Sútras be the productions of men beyond the Indus, imperfectly acquainted with the Sanskrit, how happens one portion of them to be generally accurate in every respect, while the other is so corrupt? What could have been the object of writing the same subject twice over in the same work, once in pure prose, and then in incorrect poetry?

It might be supposed—what is most likely the case—that the prose and the poetry are the productions of two different ages; but the question would then arise, how came they to be associated together? What could have induced the authors of the prose portions to insert in their works, the incorrect productions of Trans-Indus origin? Nothing but

* *Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, p. 105.

a sense of the truthfulness and authenticity of those narratives, could have led to their adoption. But how is it likely to be supposed that the most authentic account of S'ákya, within three hundred years after his death, was to be had only in countries hundreds of miles away from the place of his birth, and the field of his preachings ? The great Sútras are supposed to have been compiled about the time of the third convocation (309 B. C.), when it was not at all likely that the sages of Central India would have gone to Káshmír in search of data, which could be best gathered at their own threshold.

The more reasonable conjecture appears to be that the Gáthá is the production of bards, who were contemporaries, or immediate successors, of S'ákya, who recounted to the devout congregations of the prophet of Magadha, the sayings and doings of their great teacher, in popular and easy flowing verses, which, in course of time, came to be regarded as the most authentic source of all information connected with the founder of Buddhism. The high estimation in which the ballads and improvisations of bards are held in India, particularly in the Buddhist writings, favours this supposition ; and the circumstance that the poetical portions are generally introduced in corroboration of the narrative of the prose, with the words : तत्रेदमुच्यते "Thereof this may be said," affords a strong presumptive evidence.

According to the *Mahâwañso*, the Buddhist scriptures were chaunted, chapter after chapter, as they were compiled by the Theros of the first convocation. This could scarcely have been possible had not the Sútras been in verse, and that they were in verse, and in the Gáthá form too, we learn in another part of the same work (Chap. 37th).*

* When Buddhoghoso offered to undertake the translation of the Cingalese verson of the Pitakattayan into Páli, the priesthood of the Mahâviháro at Anurádhápura, "for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave him only two GA'THA'S, saying, Hence prove thy qualification ; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all the books." Journal As. Soc., VI., p. 508.

The learned Professor Max Müller* and Dr. Weber † have adopted this theory of the origin of the Gáthá dialect. They have both discussed the question at same length, and come to the same conclusion. The late Professor Lassen thought otherwise.‡ He supported M. Burnouf's hypothesis, and elaborated his arguments; but as those arguments have already been met above, it is not necessary to notice them at length again. Dr. Muir delivers his opinion with some hesitation. He says, "The peculiarities of the Gáthá dialect are so anomalous that it is very difficult to explain them. In any case, it is clear that, if not a spoken language, it was at least a written language in a remote age; and it therefore exemplifies to us some portion of the process by which the Sanskrit was broken down and corrupted into the derivative dialects which sprang out of it."§

Professor Benfey, while adopting the theory put forth by me, suggests a slight modification. He says, "On the other hand, Bábu Rájendralála's views on the origin of the Gáthás have very much to recommend them: they require only a slight modification, the substitution of inspired believers,—such as most of the older Buddhists were,—sprung from the lower classes of the people,—in the place of professional bards".‖ Had the learned Professor used the word *addition*, instead of "substitution," there would have been nothing to take exception to. That some of the more ardent followers of S'ákya, who succeeded to his ministry and propagated his religion after his nirváṇa, did record his teachings in prose or verse is but natural to suppose; and that some of the Gáthás are due to them cannot be positively denied; but from all that is

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* Chips, I., pp. 297 f.

† Indische Studien, III, pp. 139, 140.

‡ Indische Alt., II, p. 9.

§ Sanskrit Texts, II, p. 126.

‖ Göttingen Gelehrte Anziegen for 1861, p. 134.

known of the history of the early leaders of Buddhism it is dificult to infer that those leaders belonged to the "lower classes of the people," and were so generally ignorant as not to be able to write in tolerably correct Sanskrit. Most of them were Bráhmaṇs, or Kshatriyas, and all noted for their learning, wisdom and ability. It is but natural to suppose that Buddhist writers of a subsequent age should quote from the sayings and writings of those leaders, and not from those of the lower orders of the people, who, though they formed the great bulk of the congregation, rarely took any prominent part in the teachings of the Buddhist doctrine, and their authority could not be quoted with any prospect of giving authenticity to the narratives of later writers. Though caste distinctions were abolished as far as the reception of the religion was concerned and among the clergy, the writings of the Nepalese Buddhists leave no doubt that, as a social distinction, caste did hold its ground among them with nearly as much firmness and tenacity as among the Bráhmaṇists during the Hindu period ; and frequent references are made to Bráhmaṇ Buddhists, who were mostly men of consequence. In our own days instances are not wanting of seceders from Hinduism calling themselves "Bráhmaṇ Christians." It would not be reasonable, therefore, to attribute the literary deficiencies of the Gáthás to the ignorance of the lower orders. Those deficiencies, besides, are obviously not due to ignorance, but to colloquialisms, archaisms, and other causes, which mark the linguistic peculiarities of the age when the Gáthás were written. The colloquial character of the language of bards, or popular rhapsodists, on the other hand, is well known both in Europe and in India. Mostly composed *extempore*, their ballads and romances could not attain much purity of diction ; and, in a great measure, they depended on their colloquial simplicity for their success. A large audience of different classes and orders of men could not be influenced by refined diction and

high-flown language. A single slang or homely word, in such a case was more effectual than a whole volume of the purest Johnsonese. This is particularly well understood in India. Our Ghaṭaks or rhapsodists are not ignorant men—they can write with fair accuracy in Sanskrit; but their ballads and eulogistic verses bristle with slang and colloquial and vernacular forms of speech; and the more they do so, the more successful are they in winning the approbation of large audiences. That the ancestors of our Ghaṭaks and Bháṭs also well understood this principle, and carefully followed it, there is no reason to doubt. In the writings of the Bengali Kulajṇas there is ample evidence to show that such has been the case for at least a thousand years, and before that the principle of action must have been the same. So great is the attachment of the people to this popular form of diction, that in the present day even the recitation of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyaṇa cannot secure a large audience until the narrative of the original is largely intermingled with slang and local colouring. When the original texts are read and expounded in plain prose in the morning, on ceremonial occasions called *Katha-kathá*, the audience is limited to a few persons—rarely more than a dozen; but when in the afternoon the same narratives are embellished by a Kathaka with all the ingenuity of a professed wit and clever vernacularist, whole villages crowd round him, and drink with avidity every word that falls from his lips. The institution of Bháṭs is as old as Indo-Aryan civilization; there are several references to it in the Vedas; and in all religious and quasi-religious gatherings and feasts, at marriages, s'ráddhas and solemn assemblies, it has ever been the practice for the Bháṭs to recite long strings of verses in praise of the host, his ancestors, his caste, and his country. At convocations and religious assemblies the theme of praise is necessarily the founder of the religion and the objects of

worship ; but everywhere the language is as simple, slangy, and homely as possible. In the present day the vernacular language of the place is what is generally preferred ; but some Sanskrit verses are invariably added, and they are very much of the character of the Buddhist Gáthás. There is no reason to doubt that at the three great Councils, the proceedings commenced and ended with the recitation of eulogistic verses. The Maháwañso, as shown above, distinctly mentions the reciting of Gáthás, and the qualification of the teacher was tested by making him recite some. The same must have been the case in all the convocations and conferences, and the most reasonable conclusion on the premises appears to me, therefore, to be that the bulk of the Gáthás are, as aforesaid, due to rhapsodists, or professional bards, and probably only a few to religious teachers.

The Hon'ble Mr. Turnour is of opinion that the religion of S'ákya was originally "preached and spread among the people" in the Páli language, and yet in his edition of the Maháwañso he has shewn that Mahindo, son of As'oka, translated the Buddhist scriptures into Cingalese from the digest prepared at the convocation held in the 27th year of his father's reign, and that from that recension the Páli version was got up in the middle of the fifth century (459 and 477 A. D.), admitting thereby that the language used at As'oka's convocation was other than Páli, for if As'oka's edition had been in that language a new edition from the Cingalese recension would have been quite uncalled for, if not useless. As a collateral evidence it may be noticed that the history of S'ákya as recorded in the Burmese "Malalangara Wotoo,"* which is a paraphrase of the Páli Lalita Vistara, bears a closer approximation to the narrative of the Gáthá than to that of the prose of the great Sútras, shewing the former to be a

* For a translation of this work, see Journal, American Oriental Society, Vol. III., pp. I, et seq.

more authentic, at least a more generally received, version than the latter.

The language of the Gáthá is believed, by M. Burnouf, to be intermediate between the Páli and the pure Sanskrit. Now, as the Páli was the vernacular language of India from Cuttack to Kapurdagiri within three hundred years after the death of S'ákya, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Gáthá, which preceded it, was the dialect of the millions at the time of S'ákya's advent and for some time before it. If my conjecture in this respect be right, it would follow that the Sanskrit passed into the Gáthá six or seven hundred years before the Christian era; that three or four hundred years subsequently it changed into the Páli; and that thence, in two hundred years more, preceded the Prákṛit and its sister dialects, the Sauraseni, the Drávidí,* and the Pánchálí, which in their turn formed the present vernacular dialects of India.

* Commenting on this word as published in my paper on the "Peculiarities of the Gáthá Dialect" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, (XXIII., ft. p. 614), Dr. J. Muir observes; "if by the Drávidí is meant the Telegu, or any of its cognate languages, it is a mistake to class it with the northern Prákṛit." (*Sanskrit Texts*, II, p. 127.) It must be obvious from the manner in which the word has been used in the text that a Prákṛitic dialect is intended, and not the Telegu, nor any of its cognate dialects. That a Prákṛitic dialect of the kind was once recognised is abundantly evident from the writings of Indian philologists and rhetoricians. It is referred to by the author of the Sáhitya Darpaṇa by the phrase, *Drávidí Draviḍádishu.* Ráma Tarkavágís'a reckons it among the *Vibháshás.* Jumaranandi, in his vṛitti on Kramadís'vara, says that the Vibháshás differ but slightly from the Maháráshṭri (*Kathanchidbheda, Maharashṭryadeh s'akábhira-drávidodrávantyavantisravanti-práchya-sauraseni-váhliki dakshiṇátyádi bhashá bhedánaiakadau patiabhede cha).* Márkaṇḍeya, in his *Prákṛita-sarvasva,* expresses the same opinion. His words are: *S'añkarabhira-chaṇḍála-s'avara draviḍaudrajah.* It is to be regretted that there are not many Dráviḍi characters represented in the dramatic literature of the Hindus, but of the few who may be suspected to be so, nowhere has a Dráviḍian dialect been put in their mouths. The language they are made to speak in is a form of Prákrit, and not a cognate of the Telegu tongue.

Of course these dates are mere rough estimates, designed to help enquiry and not intended to fix the exact limits of time. Dialects take a long time in forming; their transition from one state to another is extremely irregular, at times making sudden starts, and then lying dormant, quickened among some communities and under particular circumstances, and retarded among others, differing even in the case of different individuals, but on the whole spreading over long periods, which, in the present condition of the history of ancient India, it is impossible to determine with any exactitude.

From what has been stated above, it must be obvious that I hold the Gáthás to be fragments of the earliest works on the life of the founder of Buddhism. They must have been compiled immediately after his death, if not during his life-time, on particular prominent occasions of his ministry. There is no reason to doubt that they were recited at the opening of the first convocation, when a life of the founder would be the very first thing to engage the attention of, and most agreeable to, the devout followers who assembled to give shape and permanence to the doctrines of their great teacher. Whether these Gáthás were ever put together in the from of a biography, or simply recited as fragments, it is impossible now to determine ; certain it is that no work purely in Gáthá verse has yet been met with : if it ever existed, it has not escaped the wreck of time. The earliest Chinese version is said to have been* in verse, but there is nothing to show that it was taken from a versified original. The Gáthás however, were held sacred and preserved with great care. None was deemed competent to discuss on the principles of religion who knew them not by heart, and there is no reason to doubt that all the biographies of S'ákya now extant owe their origin to them.

XV.

ON THE ṚISHYA OF THE AITAREYA BRÁHMANA.

The Ṛishya myth as given in the Bṛihadáraṇyaka Upanishad: in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. Its origin and meaning. German tradition on the subject. Different kinds of deer common in India. Ṛishya identified with the Nílagáo.

THE myth about Ṛishya refers to a subject of considerable interest, which, in ancient times, inspired the imagination of man with some of the richest ideas of poetry, and in later days has afforded the means of unravelling many a classic myth: it is the gorgeous sunrise of the East. To it Homer, it is said, owed his plot of the Trojan war, and the Rámáyaṇa, it is presumed by some, has nothing more substantial for its substratum. To the poets of the Vedic age it was a most fruitful theme, and the Vedas are interspersed with a number of myths founded on it. One of them is offensively indelicate; but with the Ṛishis of the primitive age, untrammelled by the amenities of modern civilization, it was a great favorite. It is no other than the rape of Úshá by her father Brahmá.

The details of the story are not everywhere the same. In the Bṛihadáraṇyaka Upanishad of the Yajur Veda (Chapter I, Bráhmaṇa III.), Prajápati appears as the soul, Purusha. "He being alone did not feel any delight. Therefore no body, when alone, feels delight. He was desirous of a second. He was in the same state as husband and wife are when in mutual embrace. He divided his self twofold. Hence were husband and wife produced. Therefore was this

only a half of himself, as a split pea *is of the whole.* Thus has Yájņavalkya declared it. This void is thus completed by woman. He approached her. Hence men were born (3.). She verily reflected : 'How can he approach me, whom he has produced from himself. Alas! I will conceal myself.' Thus she became a cow, the other a bull. He approached her. Hence kine were born. The one became a mare and the other a stallion ; the one a female ass, the other a male ass. He approached her. Hence the one-hoofed kind was born. The one became a female goat, the other a male goat ; the one became a ewe, the other a ram. He approached her. Hence goats and sheep were born. In this manner he counted every living pair whatsoever, down to the ants.(4)"*

The idea of rape is here incidentally expressed, but no prominence is given to it. The object of the story here is to give an account of the mode of creation of animated beings, not to dwell on the myth of Prajápati. In the Aitareya Bráhmaņa of the Ŗig Veda which is obviously older, the description of the rape is more elaborate, and it runs thus :

" Prajápati thought of cohabiting with his own daughter, whom some call 'Heaven', others 'Dawn', (Úshas). He transformed himself into a buck of a kind of deer (ŗishya) whilst his daughter assumed the shape of a female deer, *(rohit).*† He approached her. The gods saw it (crying): 'Prajápathi commits an act never done (before)'. (In order to avert the evil consequences of this incestuous act) the gods inquired for some one who might destroy the evil consequences (of it). Among themselves they did not find any one who might do that (atone for Prajápati's crime),

* Roer's Translation, pp. 67 f.

† Sáyaņa gives another explanation. He takes *rohitam*, not as the name of a female deer, but as an adjective meaning *red.* But then we had to expect *rohitám.* The crude form is *rohit*, not *rohita.* He explains the supposed *rohita* as *ritumati.*—A Haug.

They then put the most fearful bodies (for the gods have many bodies) of theirs in one. This aggregate of the most fearful bodies of the gods became a god, Bhútaván by name. * * * The gods said to him, 'Prajápati has committed an act which he ought not to have committed. Pierce this, (the incarnation of his evil deed).' * * * * He. Bhútaván, attacked him (the incarnation of Prajápati's evil deed), and pierced him (with an arrow). After having been pierced he sprung up (and became a constellation.) They call him *Mṛiga*, *i. e.*, deer, (the stars in the Orion) and him who killed that being which sprang from Prajápati's misdeeds *mṛigavyádha*, *i. e.*, hunter of the deer, (name of a star). The female deer *Rohit* into which Prajápati's daughter had been transformed, became (the constellation) *Rohiṇí*. The arrow (by which the phantom of Prajápati's sin was pierced) which had three parts, (shaft, steel and point) became such an arrow in the sky. The sperm which had been poured forth from Prajápati, flew down on the earth, and became a lake. The gods said, 'may this sperm of Prajápati not be spoilt.'"* The story then goes on to describe how from this sperm proceeded all animal creation.

In other works the allusion to it is not rare, and some of the Purāṇas revel in it. And yet the offensive character of the story did not fail to strike even its earliest elaborators. None, however, attempted to explain its purport until the Mímáñsakas took it in hand, and, to defend the purity of the Vedas, resolved it into a poetical allegory. Prajápati, they said, is one of the names of the sun, and the Dawn, which owes its birth to the sun, is naturally called its daughter, and since the sun chases the Dawn, and at last the Dawn, merges in it, the result is a father chasing his own daughter. This idea was further developed by making the sun the author of animated

* A. Haug's Translation, pp. 217 f.

creation. This explanation has since been accepted by European comparative mythologists, and there is no room for any doubt about the explanation. A counterpart to this myth has been found in a German tradition by Professor Kuhn, who has communicated to me an abstract of an essay on the subject which he has recently published. Professor Kuhn writes:—

"Both in our ancient and modern popular traditions, there is universally spoken of the Wild Hunter, who sometimes appears under the name of Wodan or Goden, and was, in heathenish times, the supreme god of the ancient German nations. This god coincides, both in character and shape with the ancient Rudra of the Vedas, (*vide* p. 99.) Now there is a class of traditions, in which this ancient god is said to hunt a stag and shoot at it, just as Rudra in the Bráhmaṇas is represented as shooting at the ṛiçya and rohit. The stag, in German mythology, is the animal of the god Freyr, who, like Prajápati, is a god of the sun, of fertility, &c., so that the shot at that stag is to be compared with Rudra's shooting at the ṛiçya = Prajapati. I have further endeavoured to show that some indications exist in the mediæval penitentials of Germany and England, which give us to understand that at the close of the old year and at the beginning of the new one (we call that time "die Zwölften" or *the twelve days*, the dvádáçaha of the Indians), there were mummeries performed by the country people, in which two persons seem to have been the principal performers, the one of whom was disguised as a stag, while the other was diguised as a hind. Both represented a scene, which must have greatly interested and amused the people, but very much offended the clergy by its sordid and hideous character; and from all the indications which are given in the texts, communicated by me, (pp. 108-180,) we may safely suppose that the chief contents of this representation was the connexion of a stag and a hind

(or of an old woman), which was accompanied by the singing of unchaste songs. From English customs at the New Year's Day, we may also infer that the hunter's shooting at this pair was even a few centuries ago, nay is even now, not quite forgotten. Now as the time of the 'twelve days' was with our ancestors the holiest of the whole year, and the gods were believed to descend at that time from heaven, and to visit the abodes of men, we may firmly believe that this representation also was a scene of the life of the gods. I hope to have thus proved that the Bráhmaṇical and the German traditions are almost fully equal, and I have finally attempted to lay open the idea from which the ancient myth proceeded. According to my explanations, our common Indo-European ancestors believed that the sun and daylight (which was, so to say, personified under the image of various animals, as a cow, or bull, a horse, a boar, a stag), was every day killed in the e ening, and yet re-appeared, almost unhurt, the next morning. Yet a decay of his power was clearly visible in the time from midsummer to midwinter, in which latter time, in the more northern regions, he almost wholly disappears, and, in Northern Germany during the time of the twelve days, is seldom to be seen, the heavens being then usually covered all over with clouds. I have, therefore, supposed it was formerly believed that the sun was then completely destroyed by a god, who was both a god of night and winter as also of storm, Rudra = Wodan. The relics of the destroyed sun, they seem to have recognised in the brightest constellations of the winter months, December and January, that is, in the Orion and the surrounding stars. But, when they saw that they had been deceived and the sun re-appeared, the myth gained the further development of the seed of Prajápati, from the remnants of which a new Áditya, as well as all bright and shining gods, were produced. I have further shewn that both Greek astronomy and German tradition prove to be in

an intimate relation with the Bráhmaṇical tradition ; for the former shows us, in almost the same place of the celestial sphere, a gigantic hunter (mṛigavyádha—Sirius ; Orion, the hunter—mṛigaçiras) ; whilst the latter has not yet forgotten that Saint Hubertus, the stag-killer, who is nothing but a representative of the gŏd Wodan, had, like Rudra, the power of healing all diseases (the " bhishaktama" of the Vedas), and particularly possessed cures for mad dogs, which not only were his favourite companions, but were also in near connexion with the hottest season of the year, when the declining of the sun begins, the so called *dog-days*."

With regard to the animal described in the Vedas as the Ṛishya, which word Dr. Haug translates by " a kind of deer," and Professor Wilson by "a white-footed antelope," I entertain a different opinion. I take it to be the Nílagáo, and my reasons for this opinion will be found in the following extract from a letter on the subject addressed to the Honorable Whitley Stokes.

'There is nothing positive to prove what particular species of animal the *Ṛishya* is. A *Mṛiga* no doubt it is ; but as that word is a generic term, including all the deer as well as the antelope tribes, it does not help me in the least. The Paṇdits, whom I have consulted, seem not to know much of the subject, and Sáyaṇa, apparently, was not better off when he commented on the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa. He could only ascertain that the Ṛishya was a species of deer, (mṛigavis'eshah), and he had to prove it by a quotation which says, " The Gokarṇa (supposed with some doubt to be the Nílagáo by Wilson), the spotted axis, the black antelope, the Ṛishya, the red deer, and the chamarí (Yak) are deer ;" *gokarṇah prishataiṇarshya rohitaschamarimṛigáh).* But great as he was as an expounder of the Vedas, and a profound Sanskrit scholar, Sáyaṇa was no naturalist, and had, therefore, to stumble over every passage that referred to

Vedic fauna. His acceptance of the Yak *(Poephagus grunniens)* as a deer is an instance in point. Another, and a very remarkable one occurs in the third Book of the *Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa*, p. 637 of my edition, in which he describes the *gomṛiga* to be "either a wild ferocious horned cattle, or a hybrid between a deer and a cow." Judging from the name *go* and *mṛiga*, "cow" and "deer," and the mixed antelopine and bovine character of the Nílagáo *(Portax tragocamelus*, the Indian representative of the Elands and the Koodoos of Africa), I cannot but take that to be the animal intended. In the Smṛitis an animal is named the *Nílavṛisha*, an exact synonym, of Nílagáo; *(Eshṭavyâ vahavah putráh yadyapyeko gayám vrajet, yajeta vás' vamedhena nîlam vá vṛishamuts'ṛijet;)* but curiously enough it is described to be a "bull with a red body, white hoofs and horns, and a yellow muzzle and tail:" nothing blue, though it is named a "blue bull!" *(lohito yastu varṇena mukhe puchchhe cha pándurah, setah khuravishánábhyám sa nílo vṛisha uchyate. S'uddhi-tattva*, 211). To account for this inconsistency, I suppose, Raghunandana, the author of the *S'uddhi*, and the *Vṛishotsavga Tattvas* knew not the animal, and confounded his authorities. The Nílagáo is not common in Bengal, and therefore not likely to be familiar to a Paṇḍit.

'Of deer, most names, which were originally specific, have since become generic, and it is difficult now to identify them. In the Kálíká Puráṇa, quoted by Rájá Rádhákánta Deva, nine different animals are described to be feral deer (jángala). Of these the first, *Hariṇa*, is said to be "copper-coloured;" 2nd, the *Eṇa* "black;" 3rd, the *Kuranga* "light copper-coloured, and of the shape of, and as big as, the *hariṇa*;" 4th, the *Ṛishya*, "an animal with a blue scrotum, generally known by the name of *Saroru*;" 5th, the *Pṛishata*, "white spotted, and somewhat smaller than the Hariṇa;" 6th, the *Nyanku*, "an animal with large antlers;" 7th, the *Sambara*, "identical with

the great *Gavaya*" or wild-ox *(sambaro gavayo mahán*, which may be made to mean the sambara is a large cow-like animal); 8th, the *Rájíva* "a deer with lines (or whirls of hair) all over its body;" and 9th, the *Mundí* or 'the hornless.'

'The first I take to be the *Cervus Wallichii* or the *Honglu* of Káshmír, an animal nearly allied to the *Cervus elaphus* or the Red Deer of Europe, the Edelhirsch of Germany. The second is the common antelope of Upper India *(Antilope bezoartica)* with a black body and white ventor and feet. Its colour leaves no doubt about its identity; for there is no other Indian deer or antelope that is black. It is the only animal that can correspond with Professor Wilson's "white-footed antelope." Its habitat, Upper India, was well-known to Manu, who describes the characteristic of the land sacred to the Aryans as that where the black antelope grazes in a wild state. Its common name is *Krishṇasára* or "the black deer." The third is our *Bárásingá (Rucervus Duvaucelii)* which is of a lighter colour than the first. The fifth is unmistakably the Axis of Bengal *(Axis maculatus)*, commonly known by the name of *Hariṇa*. The sixth I cannot make out, unless it be the *Sángnái* of Manipur *(Panolia Eldi)*, an animal never seen in the plains now, but which may have had a wider habitat in former times. The seventh is the well-known *Sámbar* deer, often miscalled the Indian Elk *(Rusa Aristotelis)*. It is common all over cis-Vindhyan India, and, for ought I know, may be equally so in the peninsula. It yields the leather known by the name of *Sábara*, which is highly esteemed as a very pure material for bedding, and Hindus, during mourning for parents, generally have recourse to it. Its name I take to be a corruption of Sambara. It is, of course, quite a different thing from the Chamois skin which our syces take for the true *Sábara*. I should notice that the authority quoted above confounds the Sambara with the Gayál *(Gavæus frontalis)*, but if the alternative meaning

given by me be accepted, the difficulty can be got over. The eighth is evidently a striped antelope, perhaps the Gazelle, but I cannot make it out. The last is the Mouse deer, which, of all the Indian deer tribe, is the only animal which has no horns. Its congeners of Java and elsewhere, such as the *Kanchil* and the *Chevrotain*, could not have been sufficiently known to come under the enumeration of a Puráṇic.

'Now for the *Ṛishya*, it must be evident from what has been said about the Ena, that it cannot be the white-footed antelope, and of antelopes we have only two others, the Ravine deer and the little *Quadricornis* that could be said to be common, and neither of these has a 'blue scrotum,' which is said to be the peculiar characteristic of the *Ṛishya*. I am disposed to think, however, that Rájá Rádhákánta's reading of the Káliká Puráṇa is not correct. I have been able to get hold of only one MS. of the work, and it does not give the s'lokas quoted, but judging from the fact of the first three animals, described in them, having the colour of their pilage noted, I ṭhink the fourth had, likewise, its general colour described, and not that of its scrotum. The word used is *níláṇḍakaḥ*, which I strongly suspect is a mislection of *níláṅgakaḥ* or the "blue-bodied"; and if this conjecture be correct, the Ṛishya would be the "blue-bodied" Nílagáo, a large, fierce and peculiarly uncommon animal, much better adapted to adorn a tale than a tame little antelope.

'The legend in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa makes Úshá= Dawn assume the form of a red doe *rohit*, and Brahmá, to enjoy her society, should become a buck *rohit;* but instead of that, he changes himself into a Ṛishya, and this circumstance suggests an argument in favour of my conjecture. The female of the Nílagáo is of a red brown colour, without any shading of blue over it, which is the peculiar characteristic of the male, and consequently appears to be of a

different species from the latter. Hence it is that two different words have been used to indicate the different sexes of the same animal, instead of representing the female by a feminine affix to the masculine term. This cannot be said of any other Indian deer that I know of. The whole of my argument, however, is founded upon an assumption, a supposed mislection, which I am not in a position now to establish by reference to other MSS. I entertain no doubt, however, that the assumption I have adopted is the right one, for nothing is more easy in Sanskrit than to confound two such words as *anga* and *aṇḍa*, particularly on the part of readers unacquainted with the natural history of the animals described.'

XVI.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE HINDÍ LANGUAGE AND ITS RELATION TO THE URDU DIALECT.*

The History of the vernacular dialects not yet written. Diversity of opinion. Their Sanskrit origin. Hindí dialect, its locale, extent and varieties. Prithvíráya-Ráyasá. Earlier vernaculars. Language of As'oka's láts, the vernacular of the time. The Gáthá preceded it. The succession of vernaculars from the time of the Gáthá. Relation of the Gáthá, the Páli and the Prákrit to Hindí. Declension. Nominative case. Accusative case. Dr. Trumpp's opinion. Author's opinion. Dative case. Instrumental case. Ablative case. Genetive case. Locative case. Vocative case. Personal pronouns. Congugation. Examples. Borrowing of vocables from the aboriginal dialects. Urdu. Distinction between borrowing vocables and grammatical forms. Character suited to Hindí. Romanisation, its inadaptability to Indian vernaculars. Impolicy of introducing it in India. Appendix.

THE history of our vernacular dialects, like that of our social and political condition during the Hindu period, remains yet to be written. It is not remarkable, therefore, that considerable difference of opinion should exist as to the origin of those dialects. Our Sanskritists take every thing to be Sanskritic. Those of our philologers who have devoted much of their time to the dialects of the south of India, cannot, from habit and long association, look at an Indian dialect from other than a Turanian stand-point. And most of our Persian and Arabic scholars, in the same way,

* This article is published as it appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1865. Since then much new light has been thrown on the subject by Mr. Beames and Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, in their comparative grammars of the Indian vernaculars, but it has not necessitated my changing the opinions given in this paper.

observe every thing through a Semitic medium. Hence it is that the Hindí has been sometimes called a Sanskritic, sometimes a Turanian, and sometimes a Semitic dialect. The balance of opinion, however, now preponderates in favour of the theory which assigns to it a Sanskrit origin. It has been shewn that the affinity of its roots is unmistakably Aryan; that its phonology and laws of permutation are peculiarly Sanskritic; and that the number of Sanskrit vocables traceable in it, amounts, at the lowest computation, to 90 per cent. The discussion on the subject has, however, not yet been brought to a close. Even at the last meeting of the Asiatic Society, my learned and respected friend, Capt. Lees, in his valuable essay on the Romanising of Indian Alphabets, stated that the Hindustání had not an alphabet of its own, and was therefore a fit dialect to be written down in the Roman character. It may not be uninteresting, therefore, to enquire what is the origin of the Hindí, the parent of the Hindustání, and how far is it removed from the original Sanskrit to be disentitled to the use of the Nágarí alphabet as its natural symbolical representative; although in making the enquiry, I shall necessarily be obliged to run over ground which has already been very carefully traversed by some of the most distinguished philologers of the day, and to repeat much that is generally well-known and admitted.

The Hindí is by far the most important of all the vernacular dialects of India. It is the language of the most civilised portion of the Hindu race, from the eastern boundary of Behar to the foot of the Solimáni Range, and from the Vindhya to the Teráï. The Gúrkhas have carried it to Kumáün and Nepál, and as a *lingua franca* it is intelligible everywhere from the Kohistán of Pesháwar to Assam, and from Káshmír to Cape Comorin. Its history is traceable for a thousand years, and its literary treasures are richer and more extensive than of any other modern Indian

dialect, the Telegú excepted. Doubtless it has not always been the same, nor is it exactly alike everywhere over the vast tract of country in which it prevails. For a living language growing with the progress of time, and diversely influenced in different places by various physical, political and ethnic causes, such a thing would be impossible. But there is sufficient similitude between the language of the *Prithvíráya-Ráyasá*, the most ancient Hindí work extant, and the Hindí of our day, and between the several dialects of Hindí, Hindustáni, Brajabháshá, and Ráñgri into which the modern Hindí has been divided, to shew that they are all essentially one—dialectic varieties of the same language—branches of the same stem,—and not issues from different trunks.

The *Prithvíráya-Ráyasá* was written nearly seven hundred years ago, and yet the difference between its language and that of the *Premaságar*, one of the most modern books in the Hindí, is not even so great as—certainly not greater than—that between the languages of Chaucer and of the *Times* newspaper, and whatever that is, it is due more to the use of obsolete and uncouth words than to any marked formal peculiarities. Chand, the author of the *Prithvíráya-Ráyasá*, has been very aptly described by the learned de Tassy as the Homer of the Rájputs.* He was a minstrel in the court of Prithvíráj, the valiant knight of Delhi, and appealed to the people in language suited to their capacity. It will be no presumption then to take the language of his epic as the vernacular of the then flourishing kingdom of Delhi and of northern India generally. How long before the time of Chand, that language was the vernacular of India, it is impossible now to determine, for from the time of Vikramáditya the great to that of Prithvíráj, we have no

* Chand, qu' on a nommé l' Homère des Rajpouts, est certainement le plus populair des poétes Hindví. De Tassy's Rudiments de la Langue Hindví, p. 7.

reliable information of any kind regarding the vernaculars. The literary work of every-day life was in those days transacted in the Sanskrit, and the language of familiar intercourse was never thought worthy of record.

Passing over *per saltum* the gap between the time of Prithvíráj and Vikrama, we find in the first century B. C., a number of dialects bearing the names of some of the principal provinces of India, such as Behar, Mahrattá, &c. These were undoubtedly the vernaculars of those provinces at the time, for they could not otherwise have taken their local designations, nor assumed the position they held in the dramatic literature of the time of Vikramáditya. Their mutual differences were but slight, not much more prominent than what may be noticed in the English as spoken in London, Wales and Yorkshire; and they were all known by one common name of the Prákrit. Professor Wilson, it is true, was of opinion that the Prákrit could not have been a spoken dialect, but his arguments have been so fully met and so frequently refuted by Max Müller, Sykes, Weber, Lassen and a host of other distinguished scholars, that I need not dwell upon them here.

Two centuries before Vikramáditya, As'oka appealed to his people in favour of Buddhism in a language which has been called Páli. It was a form of Prákrit standing midway between the language of Vararuchi's grammar and the Sanskrit of Páṇini. Whether it was ever a vernacular of India has been doubted, and some have gone the length of calling it a "quasi-religious" or a "sacred dialect." But 'a careful examination of the As'oka edicts,' to quote what I have elsewhere said, 'clearly shews that it is a stage in the progress or growth of the Sanskrit in its onward course from the Vedic period to the vernaculars of our day, produced by a natural process of phonetic decay and dialectic regeneration, which can never be possible except in the case of a

spoken dialect. Professor Max Müller, adverting to these changes, justly says, they "take place gradually, but surely, and what is more important, they are completely beyond the reach or control of the free will of man." No more could As'oka and his monks devise them for religious purposes, than change the direction of the monsoons, or retard the progress of the tides. It is said that Marcellus, the grammarian, once addressed the emperor Tiberius, when he had made a mistake, saying, 'Cæsar, thou canst give the Roman citizenship to man, but not to words;' and *mutatis mutandis*, the remark applies with just as much force to As'oka as to Tiberius. There can be no doubt that As'oka was one of the mightiest sovereigns of India. His sway extended from Dháüli on the sea board of Orissa to Kapur-di-Giri in Afghanistan, and from Bákrá in the north-east to Junagar in Guzarát. His clergy and missionaries numbered by hundreds of thousands; they had penetrated the farthest limits of Hindustan proper, and had most probably gone as far as Bamian on the borders of the Persian empire. Religious enthusiasm was at its height in his days, and he was the greatest enthusiast in the cause of the religion of his adoption. He devised his edicts to promote that religion; had them written in the same words for all parts of his kingdom; and used exactly the same form everywhere: but with all his imperial power and influence, he could not touch a single syllable of the grammar which prevailed in the different parts of his dominions. In the north-west, the three sibilants, the *r* above and below compound consonants, the neglect of the long and short vowels, and other dialectic peculiarities, rode rough-shod over the original as devised by him and his ministers and apostles in his palace, and recorded in Allahabad and Delhi; while at Dháüli nothing has been able to prevent the letter *l* entirely superseding the letter *r* of the edicts. Had the language under notice

been a "quasi-religious," or a "sacred dialect," it would have been found identically the same in all parts of India, for the characters used in the Delhi, Allahabad, Dháüli and Junagar records are the same, and if uniformity had been sought, it could have been most easily secured. Popularity, however, was evidently what was most desired, and therefore concessions were freely made in favour of the vernaculars of the different provinces at the expense of uniformity. Unless this be admitted it would be impossible to explain why the word *rájá* of Delhi, written in the same characters, should in Cuttack change into *lájá.* Had the language been a sacred one, intended for the clergy only, no such concession would ever have been required. The Sanskrit of the Bráhmaṇic priesthood is alike everywhere, and so is the Latin of the Roman Catholic clergy. It is the people whom As'oka wished to address, and accordingly adapted his language to the capacity and the idiom of his hearers.' And if these arguments be admitted, and similar arguments have already led Dr. Max Müller, Mr. Muir and others to admit, that the Páli was the vernacular of India from Dháüli in Cuttack to Kapur-di-giri in the Yusafzai country in the time of As'oka, and for some time before and after it.

Ascending upwards to the time of the first great convocation of the Buddhist clergy, soon after the death of S'ákya Siñha, we come across a kind of corrupt Sanskrit called the *Gáthá*, which was used for ballads and improvisations by the scalds and bards of that period. For reasons which I have already submitted to this Society in my paper on the Gáthá dialect, I take that language to be the first stage in the transition of the Sanskrita into the Prákṛit, and the vernacular of Bráhmaṇic India in the fifth and sixth centuries before the Christian era.* For the purposes of the present

* Dr. J. Muir has adopted this opinion in his *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II., p. 124 et seq.

enquiry we need not proceed further. We have the Gáthá proceeding directly from the Sanskrit and forming the vernacular of India in the sixth century, B. C.; the Páli following it in the third, and the Prákṛit in its different forms of Mágadhí, Saurasení, Mahráṭṭí, Pais'áchí, &c., in the first century of that era. How long the last flourished we know not; nor have we any information as to the transitions it underwent, or the dialect or dialects which succeeded it. But passing over a period of about a thousand years, we come to the Hindí in the tenth century, and the question hence arises,—Is the Hindí a produce of the Prákṛit, or a different and distinct language which has succeeded it? Muir, De Tassy, and the German philologers generally maintain the former position; while Crawford, Latham, Dr. Anderson, of Bombay, and others, assume the latter. They all agree that no less than 90 per cent. of the vocables of the Hindí are Sanskrit; and if the affinity of its roots were alone to decide the question of its affiliation, there could be no doubt as to its claims to a Prákṛitic, and necessarily to a Sanskritic, origin. But since a language is to be judged more by its formal than by its radical elements, and the formal elements of the Hindí are apparently very unlike those of the Sanskrit, but closely similar to those of the Scythic group of languages, it is argued that it must be a Turanian or a Scythic, and not an Aryan dialect. To meet this, I must enter into some detail regarding the changes which the grammatical apparatus of the Sanskrit has undergone in some of the Sanskritic dialects, such as the Gáthá, the Páli and the Prákṛit, and then trace its relation to the Hindí.

Beginning with the inflection of nouns, we find that the first step in the transition of the Sanskrit into the Gáthá, was the omission of the mark of the nominative singular *s*, which after *a* assumed the form of the aspirate *visarga*. Where the Sanskrit said *Rámah*, the Gáthá was contented

with *Ráma*. This was exactly what was to be expected, for the most prominent feature of the changes which led to the transition of the Vedic Sanskrit into the language of the Rámáyaṇa and the Mahábhárata was the softening down of harsh and difficult combinations of several consonants, and of elision of aspirates. The aspirate of the nominative singular was, besides, not common to all nouns, but only to themes ending in *a*. Words ending in consonants, in the vowel *ṛi* and in long *í* or *ú*, received no aspirate, and their analogy prompted the elision of it also after *a*. This elision in the Gáthá was, however, occasional, and not universal. It retained the aspirate as often as it dropped it, and sometimes supplied its place by the letter *u*, and so all the three forms of *Rámah*, *Ráma* and *Rámu** are to be met with in the ballads of the Gáthá.

The *s* of the Sanskrit, which becomes a visarga after *a*, changes into *o* if an *a* follow it. But in the Zend, the latter condition is not necessary, hence *o* is the usual termination in the nominative singular, and it is its contraction that we meet with in the Gáthá in the form of *u*. The Páli of As'oka's edicts omits the *s*, but never takes the *o* or *u*; but in the Páli of Kátyáyana's grammar and in the Cingalese chronicles, the *o* is preferred to simple elision, so it is in the Prákṛit. Of the modern vernaculars the Braja-bháshá, or the Hindí of Mathurá, alone, occasionally takes the *u*, but the others all drop all case-marks for the nominative. Thus the Sanskrit *Bálakah* becomes in Gáthá *Bálaka*, or *Bálaku*,* in Páli *Bálako*, in Prákṛit *Bálaka*, and in Hindí *Bálak*, or *Bálaku*. The euphonic laws which regulate these changes are not yet known, but their operation is universal, and we accordingly find that the *s* of the Latin nominative singular is first dropped in the language of the Trouba-

* I have not noticed these words declined in the different forms, but the forms occur in connexion with different words.

dours, in Provençal and in French, but is transformed into *o* in the Italian and Spanish. Thus the Latin *oculus*,* (eye) becomes in Provençal *huel*, in French *œil*, in Italian *occhio*, and in Spanish *ojo;* the changes being almost parallel to what we have seen above.

The flexional termination for the *accusative*, like that of the nominative, has been either dropped or assimilated with the dative in almost all the modern vernaculars. This commenced as early as the time of the *Apabhraṅsa*, in which the Sanskrit accusative mark *m* used to be frequently, if not uniformly, omitted. In the Hindí, this mark is *ko*, which in some of its patois, in poetry, and in some of the earlier writings, occurs in the form of *ku*, *koṅ*, *kauṅ*, *kaha*, *kaṅha*, *kahaṅ* and *ki*. Apparently this termination is perfectly distinct from the Sanskrit inflection, for both the accusative and the dative, and this has led to much discussion as to the ethnology of the Hindí-speaking races of India. Dr. Kay, (Journal, A. S., xxi., p. 109) thought the *ko* of the Hindí and the *ke* of the Bengali, came from the Tartar suffix *ka*, and Dr. Caldwell bases on the existence of this particle his strongest argument in favour of the Dravidian origin of the Hindí. He says, "of all the analogies between the North Indian dialects and the Southern, this is the *clearest and most important*, and it cannot but be regarded as betokening either an original connexion between the northern and the southern races, prior to the Bráhmaṇ irruption, or the origination of both races from one and the same primitive Scythian stock." Dr. Trumpp, commenting upon this, observes: "At the first *coup d'œil* the identity of खे, के, केा, etc., with the Dravidian dative case-affix *ku*, etc., seems to be quite convincing; yet, on nearer investigation, we shall find this comparison to turn out illusive. In the first instance, the

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* The Sanskrit *Akshi* (eye), the counterpart of *oculus*, runs a similar course, but as a neuter noun takes no case-mark in the nominative.

fact speaks already very strongly against it, that the Mahráṭṭi which is the closest neighbour to the Dravidian tongues of the south, has repudiated the use of के or को altogether, and used an affix, the origin of which we have attempted to fix, and as we hope, past controversy. We shall further see that the Gujaráṭi and Panjábi have also made up for the dative case by postpositions, borrowed from the Sanskrit, without the slightest reference to the Dravidian languages, and we may, therefore, reasonably expect the same fact for the remaining Arian dialects. It would certainly be wonderful if those Arian dialects, which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, should have warded off any Dravidian influence, and that those more to the north should have been tinged 'deeply' with Scythian characteristics. Fortunately, we are able to shew that such an assumption is not only gratuitous, but irreconcilable with the origin of the above mentioned dative affixes. We derive the Sindhi खे and the Bengali के from the Sanskrit locative कृते, 'for the sake of,' 'on account of,' 'as regards,' being thus altogether identical in signification with the Máraṭṭí ला, Bengali *re*, etc. This will at once account for the aspiration of ख in the Sindhi खे, for this is not done by mere chance, but according to a fixed rule. [See my System of Sindhi Sounds, I, and note.] In Bengali there is no such influence of *r* on the aspiration of a preceding or following consonant, and therefore we have simply के. The Sanskrit form कृते becomes in Prákṛit first, किते, then (by the regular elision of त्) किए, and contracted to के, and in Sindhi by the influence of (elided *r*) खे.

"The Hindí and Hindustání form of this affix कों (dialectically pronounced *kú* in the Deccan), which has apparently invited its comparison with the Tamil *kú*, etc., we derive, in the same way, from the Sanskrit accusative neuter कृतं, which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative कृते. In Prákṛit, already, and still more

so in the inferior dialects, the neuter is confounded with the masculine, (and in the modern dialects which have no neuter, the neuter has been altogether indentified with the masculine); we have, therefore, first, in Prákṛit कितो, then again (by regular elision of त) किओ, and contracted को. We can thus satisfactorily account for all these three forms, खे, and को, and का; how Dr. Caldwell will now identify them with the Dravidian *ku*, etc., I cannot see. That this derivation of खे, के, and को rests not on a mere fancy of mine, is farther proved by the Sindhi particle रे, *without*, which is derived in the way described from the Sanskrit locative form ऋते, 'with the exception of,' 'excepted,' 'without;' Prákṛit first रिते, then रिए, and contracted रे."*

This explanation, ingenious as it is, is not satisfactory. *Kṛita* is a participle from the root *kṛi*, "to do," and the dative or accusative signification attributed to it is altogether a forced one. The indeclinable particle *kṛite* is often used in Sanskrit in lieu of, or to imply, some forms of the dative; but its contraction does not yield *ko*. We must look elsewhere, therefore, for the origin of this puzzling particle, nor are we at all at a loss on the subject. Professor Max Müller derives the Bengálí dative *ke* from the Sanskrit suffix *ka*, which is largely used in modern Sanskrit as an expletive, and I think we may trace in it the germ of the Hindí *ko*. As a simple means of reducing nouns of different terminations to one standard, the syllable *ka* is a valuable adjunct, and scalds and improvisatores use it frequently to obviate the necessity of multiplicity of declensions. Now, if we bear in mind that in the Gáthá, the ordinary method of indicating the elision of a case-mark is by the addition of *u*, as in the words *jayu* for *jayam*, *kṛitu* for *kṛitam*, *kálu* for *kálam*, &c., (*vide* my edition of the Lalita Vistara,) we find the missing

* Journal Royal As. Soc., XIX., p. 392. The *re* turns up in the Bengálí dative, in the same way.

components of *ku* which was the archetype of *ko*, and which is still largely used in colloquial Hindí for both the dative and the accusative. We believe the *ka* at first took the ordinary accusative affix *m* after it. But gradually it wore down to a nasal *ñ* and the inflexion became *kañ*. This transition is by no means uncommon in Aryan languages. In Greek the Sanskrit accusative affix *m* passed into *n* at a very early period, and in Bengálí it is invariably sounded as *ñ*. Now if we apply the expletive *u* to this *kañ* it becomes *kuñ*, and in this form we meet with it in the Uriah, which has preserved its similitude to the Sanskrit with more care than any other Indian dialect. It also occurs in the Deccan Hindí, and in the Braja-bhashá. The prolongation of the *u* yields *koñ*, and this, variously pronounced, forms in Northern India *koñ*, *kauñ*, *ko*, and the rest.

The dative of the Sanskrit in the first person singular is *e*, which added to *ka* makes, by the elision of *a*, the Bengálí dative *ke*. It is true that, according to the rules of Páṇini, the *e* of the dative after themes ending in *a* should change into *aya*, but as corruption is the result of a fanciful analogy on the part of the illiterate masses, it is not remarkable that the universal affix *e* should replace the especial *aya*. In the Gáthá the reverse of this often occurs, and the especial *ena*, the instrumental ending of themes in *a*, is frequently used after themes ending in consonants instead of the more legitimate and general affix *á;* the examples being *mahatena* for *mahatá*, *yasena* for *yasasá*, *rájena* for *rájṇá*.

One form of the *instrumental* in the Sanskrit is *ná*. It is used after themes in *i*, *u* and neuter nouns in *ṛi;* and the Hindí adopts it with but a slight change in the vowel, the endings being *na*, *ni*, *ne*, and *neñ*. The similitude here is so close that I need not dwell on it at any length.

The Sanskrit *ablative* termination in the plural number is *bhyas*. This changes into *hi* or *hinto* in the earlier Prákṛits,

and to *he* in the later, in which the ablative is confounded with the genitive. In the Bengálí the *hinto* passed into *hainte* a little before the time of Chaitanya Deva, and subsequently into *haite*, the form in which we now have it. The *he* of the Prákṛits, according to Dr. Trumpp, merged into *se* or *sen* in the Hindí on the ground of *h* and *s* being interchangeable, but we think the original Sanskrit *smát*, the especial affix of the pronouns, offers a more probable source of *sen* and *se* than the secondary *he*. In either case the origin of the termination is purely Sanskritic. In the Braja-bháshá the *se* is generally replaced by *tein*, an obvious corruption of the Sanskrita *tas*.

The *genitive* affix in the Bengálí and the Uriah is formed by hardening the Sanskrit *sya* into *ra*. But in all the other Aryan Indian dialects, a novel mode is adopted which is traceable only in the old Vedic language. According to Dr. Trumpp, "The noun, which ought to be placed in the genitive case, is changed into an adjective, by an adjectival affix, and thence follows naturally, that this so-called genitive, which is really and truly only an adjective, must agree in gender, case, and number with its governing noun, as every other adjective does. The adjectival affix, used thus, to make up for a genitive, varies in the different dialects. *** The Hindí and Hindustání have preserved the original Sanskrit adjectival affix क without changing it into a palatal, viz., का ; in Hindí we meet with the genitive affix कौ, को. A further proof that these genitive affixes जो, चा, का, कौ, etc., are really the adjectival affix क of the Sanskrit, and the को of the Prákṛit, we have in the fact, that they all end in *o*, a *long vowel*, *ó*=*á*; as all those adjectives do, which are formed with this affix (see my system of formation of themes under the termination को.)"

The *locative* in the Sanskrit is *i* or *e*, which has been carefully preserved in the Bengálí, though the ablative *te*

proceeding from the Sanskrit *tas* is occasionally used in a locative sense. The *e* changes into *smin* after words of the class "*púrva*," &c. and this *smin* seems to have been adopted as a general termination for the locative in the Páli. In the Prákrit it merged into *mmi*, and in the Hindí the *mmi* appears in the different forms of *meñ*, *mai*, *moñ*, *mañ*, *mahi*, &c. Dr. Trumpp has overlooked this obvious derivation in his "Declensional Features of the North Indian Vernacular," in which he says, "In Hindí and Hindustání the locative, as a case, has been quite lost, and only some vestiges of it remain, as: होते, or emphatic होते हो, 'in being,' and thus a locative can be formed with all participles, present or past, which are generally looked upon by our European grammarians as indeclinable participles, but which are in reality only locatives, as it is most clearly borne out by comparing the cognate dialects."* In some forms of the Hindí, the *me* of the locative is replaced by *pai*, and rarely by *paiñ*, the origin of which we can trace only to the Sanskrit preposition *upara*, "upon," which first changed into *par* in such sentences as *mupar* "on me," and subsequently to *pai*, the nasal affix being a euphonic adjunct which in the Braja-bháshá is largely introduced often without any obvious reason. The same was the case in the Bengalí four hundred years ago, and the *Chaitanya-charitámrita* affords innumerable instances of its use in words like *jáyiñá*, *kháñyiñyá* for the modern *jáyiyá*, *kháyiyá*, &c.

The *vocative* in the Hindí is identically the same as in most forms of the Sanskrit, being formed by the addition of the interjections *he*, *re*, *ahe* (for *ayi*,) &c. A few of the in-
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The *personal pron*...

we need not swell this paper by tracing the gradual changes which they have undergone from the time of the Prákṛits to our own day. The only word which appears to some to be of doubtful origin is the third person *vah*, plural *vai*, but the difficulty vanishes if the Sanskrit *asau* be taken as its archetype.

The verb generally undergoes a greater variety of changes than any other class of words. It is said that in some American languages, verbal roots may appear in no less than six thousand different forms. In Sanskrit the changes are not so numerous, still they exceed three hundred. In Greek and Latin they are less, and in modern European languages generally very few; in English the least—not more than six or seven in all. Still, compared to nouns of their respective languages, the verbs assume a much greater variety of forms, and therefore their conjugational affixes offer the most ready materials for tracing their origin. This test applied to the Hindí fails entirely to detect in it the smallest amount of a Scythic or Dravidian element. No doubt the niceties of the Sanskrit conjugation, the ten classes, the three voices, the ten moods and tenses, have all disappeared in the Hindí, as they have more or less in all other modern vernaculars, whether Indian or European; but what is left to us is purely Sanskrit and not foreign, and we may fairly conclude, therefore, that what has disappeared was likewise Sanskritic, and that the whole system owes its origin to a Sanskrit source. The process has been that of decay and regeneration, and not of development and expansion. In mediæval and modern times history does not afford us an instance of a language growing out of a rude state, developing new forms and gradually acquiring symmetry and perfection, such as the Latin out of the Spanish or the Italian. It is the perfect that wears out and re-adjusts its members when the first arrangement ceases to be expressive. Hence

it is that we find in the Hindí, as in all other vernaculars, the original inflections losing their power and significance and yielding their places to verbs and participles, which in their turn wear out and assume the form of inflections. It is easy to suppose that the verbs which will most frequently adopt this auxiliary character are those which indicate "to be," "to exist," "to live," "to go." These in Sanskrit are *as*, *bhu*, *sthá* and *gam*, and they therefore constitute the principal auxiliaries in the conjugation of the Hindí.

The *bhu* of the Sanskrit becomes in the first person singular of the present tense *bhavámi*. In the Gáthá the process which converts *bhu* into *bhava* is partially carried out, and the word becomes *bhomi*. In the Prákṛit the *bhu* changes to *ho* and *huba*, and those forms continue in all the Aryan Indian vernaculars. Some think the transition of *bhu* to *ho* to be unnatural, and therefore assume it to be a non-Sanskrit word, but, besides the authority of Vararuchi, who, nineteen hundred years ago, wrote down in his grammar the rule* that "in Prákṛit *bhu* should be changed to *ho* and *huba*," we find that notwithstanding the use of two thousand years the *ho* in the past tenses of the Braja-bháshá appears in its primitive form of *bha* in *Bhaye*, *Bhayethe*, *&c.* The conjugated form of the *ho* in the Prákṛit was *homi*, and in the Hindí *hun̄*. In the definite present this again is intensified by the addition of the past participle *hotá* before it.

The past tense is formed by the past participle *hotá* with the aid of the Sanskrit *sthá*, "to remain," changed to *thá*, the personal distinction being indicated by the alteration of the terminal vowel. The perfect is formed by the union of the present participle with the present tense, *huá-hon̄*. This duplication of the verb in the perfect tense is peculiarly

* *Bhubo ho hubau.* Delius' *Radices Prákriticæ*, p. 1. *B* and *h* were interchangeable even in the time of the Vedas and in the *S'rauta Sútra* of Ás'valáyana, the same word is written at option both *gribhíta* and *grihíta*.

Aryan. It occurs in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Zend, Anglo-Saxon and Gothic, and is by itself a strong proof in favour of the Sanskrit affiliation of the Hindí. In the pluperfect the *thá* again occurs as an inflection, the verb remaining in the form of the present participle *hua*. For the future tense the auxiliary is the root *gam*, "to go," in the form of *gá* or *ge* added to the verb in the indicative present. This paraphrase is peculiar, and not common in any other Sanskritic vernacular. Its analogue in the English may be traced in such phrases as *I am going to do*.

In the case of other verbs, *ho* becomes an auxiliary for the perfect, the other tenses being conjugated in the same way as *ho;* it is not necessary, therefore, to adduce examples.

Nor is it necessary to dwell longer on the subject of the grammatical forms of the Hindí. What has been said will I trust, be sufficient to shew the strong affinity which it has to the Sanskrit, and the relation it bears to the Prákṛit and the other Aryan vernaculars of India. There are, I admit, breaks in the chain of the evidence produced, but they are not of such a character as to render the whole untrustworthy. At any rate it will be seen that the Hindí as it stands, could not have proceeded from any other known language except, the Sanskrit, and this sort of negative evidence, in the absence of positive proof, has been recognized in judicature, and may with every reason be adopted in history.

It has been said that inasmuch as the earliest seats of the Bráhmaṇs in India at the time of their advent were occupied by the aborigines, and the two races freely coalesced together, their vernaculars must have, from a very remote period, assumed a mixed character. But the Vedas give us no reason to suppose that any such extensive admixture did take place. On the contrary it is certain that the aborigines receded as the tide of the Aryan conquerors flowed onward from the north-west, very much in the same way as the Red

Indian in North America receded from the contact of the Saxon and the Celt, and they could not therefore leave behind much of their dialects to leaven the language of the aggressors. At the same time as it is impossible for two languages to come in contact without exchanging their vocables, so we find that from 5 to 10 per cent. of the vocables of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India are of non-Sanskrit or foreign origin. Owing to the same cause the dialects of the aborigines shew a considerable stock of Sanskritic vocables, varying of course in proportion to the extent of intercourse which the different tribes who speak them had with the Bráhmaṇs. When the aborigines had receded beyond the Kṛishṇá their flight was checked by the sea, and they had accordingly there to make their last stand against their conquerors, and it is beyond the Kṛishṇá, therefore, that we find the descendants of those aborigines in the largest number, and in full possession of their original dialects.

After having thus taken, what I trust will appear, a sufficiently consistent view of the origin of the Hindí, I shall now turn to the *Urdu*, otherwise called the *Hindustání*. Muhammadan writers inform us that the necessity of colloquial intercourse between the Moslem invaders and the natives of this country, produced a mixed dialect of which the grammar was purely Indian, but the vocables partly foreign and partly Indian. It was first principally used by the Affghan soldiery and therefore called the *Urdu*, or the "camp dialect." Chiefs and nobles next took it up, and it now forms the language of nearly half of the Muhammadan population of the country, the other half speaking the ordinary Hindí. This sort of fusion of the vocables of one language into another is common enough in the history of languages. To a small extent it is taking place in almost every language on earth; and instances are not wanting to shew that it has

happened to a very large extent without affecting in the least the grammatical peculiarities of the recipient. In Bengal the language of the courts contains no less than 30 per cent. of Arab, Persian, and other foreign words, and still it is acknowledged to be Bengálí. There is a class of books, also in Bengálí, which is said to be written in "Muhammadan-Bengálí," and some of the Gospels have been translated into it. Its grammar is pure Bengálí, but it contains no less than 35 per cent. of foreign words. The Persian in the same way, though an Indo-European languge, has received a large accession of Semitic element from the Arabs without materially altering its grammar. Again, the Turks, though Turanian by birth, have a language which contains, almost in equal proportion, vocables of Semitic, Turanian, and Aryan origin. Its grammar, nevertheless, is purely Tartaric. According to certain missionaries quoted by Hervas* "the Araucans at one time used hardly a single word which was not Spanish, though they preserved both the grammar and the syntax of their own native speech." The English, however, offers the most remarkable instance of a language borrowing its stock of words from a variety of foreign sources without in the least altering its grammar. It it well-known that in England, for three centuries after the Norman conquest, the language of court and law, and of elegance and fashion, was French, and nobody was held respectable who did not speak in it. This led to the accession of a large stock of French words into the Saxon, generally estimated at 17 or 18 per cent. and to such a change in the character of the language of the metropolis, that Chaucer doubted that his poetry would be intelligible out of London. But its grammar was left untouched. Omitting all mention of the other foreign elements, the Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese,

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* Apud Max Müller, Science of Language, p. 76.

Bengálí, Hindustání, Malay and Chinese words to be met with in English, I may observe that it has been proved by Thommeral that of the total number of 43,566 words in Webster's dictionary, no less than 29,853 come from classical and only 13,230 from Teutonic sources. And yet the English is not a classical but a Saxon language, and that because English can be written with words entirely Anglo-Saxon, but never by Latin or French words only. The Bengálí of the Mofussil courts in the same way may have 30 per cent. of foreign words, but those words by themselves can never construct an intelligible sentence. Hence the great axiom in the science of language "that grammar is the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation."*

Applying this rule to the Urdu, we find that there are several works in that dialect which contain but a small admixture of foreign element. Insha Alla Khan wrote a tale in the socalled Urdu, which does not contain a single Persian or Arabic word,† and the largest extent to which Semitic element has been traced in any Urdu work does not exceed 40, or at the outside 50, out of every hundred.‡ While on the other hand its remaining 50 to 60 per cent. of vocables are Hindí, and its structure and grammar are entirely so, and that to such an extent that it is impossible to construct a single sentence in it without the aid of the Hindí grammar. Pedantic Mauluvis may string together endless series of adjectives and substantives, and even adverbs, but they can never be put in concord without indenting on the services of Hindí verbs, Hindí inflections, Hindí case-marks, Hindí pronouns, and Hindí prepositions. Nothing could be more conclusive

* Max Müller, loc. cit. † Journal, A. S., vol. xxl, p. 1.

‡ Vide Appendix.

than this ; the grammar of the Urdu is unmistakeably the same as that of the Hindí, and it must follow, therefore, that the Urdu is a Hindí and an Aryan dialect. A variety no doubt it is, differing from the original in having a large admixture of foreign element, but still a variety of the Hindí, as the Assamese and the Coch are varieties of the Bengálí. Englishmen, who maintain that 80 per cent. of Latin and Greek do not alter the Saxon origin of their vernacular, will, I am sure, readily admit my position, and if this be admitted the question as to the character in which it should be written becomes self-evident. As Sanskritic dialects the Hindí and the Urdu have undoubted claims to the Nágarí, for that alone can supply the necessary symbols properly to indicate their systems of sounds. The Persian alphabet has no such symbols, and therefore fails adequately to represent the phonology of the Hindí, except by the aid of a cumbrous system of diacritical marks. It is, besides, notwithstanding the great facility with which it may be written, to quote the language of the learned translator of Ferishtá, "the most difficult to decipher with accuracy, and the most liable to orthographical errors. In writing it the diacritical points, by which alone anything like certainty is attainable, are frequently omitted ; and in an alphabet where a dot above a letter is negative, and below the same letter is positive, who shall venture to decide in an obscure passage which is correct ; or how is it possible that a person unacquainted with the true orthography of proper names can render a faithful transcript of a carelessly written original ?"*

It is true that, owing to a feeling of national pride on the part of the Muhammadan rulers of India, and partly to the inconvenience and trouble on their part of learning a foreign

* Brigg's Ferishtá, p. xi.

alphabet, the bulk of the literature of the Urdu is now written in the Persian character, which cannot now be changed, and there are certain Arabic and Persian letters, such as ذ ز ع غ ق which have not their counterparts in the Nágarí ; but these facts cannot, I contend, invalidate the right of a language to the use of its own native alphabet. In importing foreign words, the rule has hitherto been to assimilate them to the language into which they are imported, and not to invent a new alphabet for their sake ; the Greeks did not add to the number of their letters when they met with new letters, such as *j*, in the language of their neighbours, but represented them by their nearest equivalents in their own alphabet, and the same course should be, and in fact has hitherto been, adopted in writing the Hindí.

But whether it be proper to write the Hindí in the Nágarí or the Persian character, certain it is, on the arguments so ably set forth by Capt. Lees, that the Roman alphabet is by no means adapted fairly to represent its system of sounds.

The question is one of great importance. It has already engaged the attention of some of the most distinguished scholars of Europe,* and it would be presumptuous on my part to dispose it off at the fag end of an article on a different subject. But as a native who feels deeply interested in the prospect of the vernaculars of his country, I cannot allow

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* It is worthy of note that Sir William Jones, Gilchrist, Wilson, and some others whose names are intimately associated with schemes of Romanising, were not advocates for converting all native writing into the Roman character for natives, but for supplying a uniform plan for representing foreign words in European languages for the use of European scholars. Dr. Max Müller's system is also avowedly intended for Europeans. It is called the "Missionary Alphabet," and Christian Missionaries in foreign parts are the principal persons who are expected to benefit by it. Even Lepsius looks to Missionaries for his principal supporters.

this opportunity to pass, without observing that the question has been hitherto discussed mainly, if not entirely, from a European stand-point. The benefits which European scholars, officials and missionaries are to derive by substituting the Roman character in their writing and printing of Indian dialects, are what have been most elaborately discussed, but little consideration has been shewn as to the advantage which the natives are to derive by accepting the Roman as a substitute for their national alphabet. It is from that point, therefore, that I wish to discuss the question here. I have not the least objection to the adoption of a uniform system, for the reproduction of foreign words in European languages. On the contrary I think, for Englishmen in India, such a system is most urgently needed, as much for the sake of convenience and precision—"to avoid the chaos of caprice"—as for the researches of philologists; and I have always advocated it to the best of my humble powers.

Philologically considered, sounds are all that are of importance in a living language, and therefore it is perfectly immaterial what are the shapes of the symbols which indicate them; and if it can be shewn that one set offers advantages in writing and printing as well as in precision, over another, considerations of antiquity or national vanity ought not to stand in the way of improvement. But as the case stands, while the Roman alphabet is without question highly defective both in its arrangement and in the range of sounds which can be expressed by it, the Sanskrit has been acknowledged by competent scholars to be the most perfect of all known systems of letters, and the proposition, therefore, amounts to the substitution of an avowedly inferior, in place of a superior alphabet. It is true that the Nágarí letters are angular, and in cursive writing must yield the palm of superiority to the Roman, but facility in writing is not the only, nor the most important, requirement of a good alphabet.

Besides, the Roman, notwithstanding its superiority, is in this respect far from being perfect. It is utterly unsuited for the purpose of reporting public speeches, and various systems of short-hand writing have had to be devised for that work. For ordinary rapid writing, such as taking down depositions, the Bengálí and the Persian have been found in our Courts quite as good for the Bengálí and the Urdu languages as the Roman is for the English, and the proposed change therefore is uncalled for, particularly when we bear in mind that the Roman letters cannot be used in writing the oriental languages without a multitude of dots and dashes and accents and commas, which completely neutralise its cursive superiority. In the standard alphabet of Lepsius, there are no less than 189 letters, of which the first *a* appears under nine disguises, produced by dots and dashes and hooks and spurs above, below, and at the sides. The *d* in the same way has nine, *e* thirteen, *i* nine, and *u* twelve disguises. To such an extent has this process of accentuation been carried with regard to the other letters that we find but a few that have escaped its metamorphosing influence, and no less than 165* letters heavily loaded with excrescences. Several of those letters are Greek ; others are oblique and horizontal lines with diacritical marks which had never before been made to do duty for letters, except in some systems of stenography. These are surely not recommendations by way either of simplicity or precision, the two most important requirements of a good alphabet, and hence it is, that the use of the standard

* It is necessary to note that these are all distinct simple letters, and not compound consonants and vowel-marks of the Sanskritic alphabets, with which some Romanisers wish to confound them. The Sanskrit is a syllabic alphabet, and therefore every letter or combination of letters represents a complete syllable with its necessary vowel, whereas the Roman being a literal alphabet, has to put in a separate letter for every sound both consonental and vocalic that occurs in a syllable, and most of them when used for oriental languages have to receive their special diacritical marks above and below.

alphabet has proved so troublesome in the Cape Colony.* The Roman has only two diacritical marks, the dot on the *i* and the score on the *t*, and both these are unmanageable in rapid writing; to multiply them a hundred-fold, and still to expect that the alphabet would remain simple and easy of writing, is to expect what experience has already proved to be, an imposibility. Mr. J. G. Thompson, of Madras, once suggested "An unpointed Phonetic alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard alphabet, but easier to read and write; less likely to be mistaken; cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute; and less liable to accident;" but unfortunately for his scheme, his letters were distorted and disproportioned, and so metamorphosed by hooks and loops and spurs that they could not at all be recognised as Roman. Other systems there are, but none free from diacritical marks, nor of so uniform a character as to be generally understood all over Europe. It has been said that when the Roman alphabet becomes familiar to the Indians, it will not be necessary to retain the use of the points, and by their omission, writing will be free and easy. But the proposition amounts to writing a language without vowels, and the mischief of such a course in writing generally, and in mofussil legal proceedings particularly, must be frightful to contemplate.† The experiment has been tried already and found to break down completely. The *Kúṭiál* Hindí is written in characters closely allied to the ordinary Nágarí, but without *mátrás* or vowel marks, and in this state it is perfectly unintelligible to all except the initiated. Its use is, therefore, confined exclusively to drafts and cheques, and even there, for the sake of precision, the sums

* Professor Max Müller declines to give in his adhesion to Lepsius' system.

† It has been said that since the Persian, a diacritical alphabet, has been so long in use, the Roman is not likely to prove more troublesome. But the object of the proposed change should be to give us a good alphabet instead of a bad one, and not to substitute a defective one by another equally bad.

have to be written with such circumlocution as "rupees twenty, the double of which is forty and quadruple eighty, and the half of which is ten and quarter five." It is said that once a *gomústá* wrote in it from Agra to his master's family at Muttra, stating that his master was gone to Ajmere and the big ledger was wanted. The words used were,

Babu Ajmir gaye badi bahi bheja dijiye.

Without vowel marks and written continuously without breaks, in the native fashion, the words were read:

Bábu aj mar gayá baḍi bahu bheja dijiye.

"Master is dead, send his eldest wife," apparently either to perform a suttee, or attend the funeral obsequies. The story may be false, but I firmly believe that the mistake it is intended to ridicule will multiply manyfold, if Indian languages be written in the Roman letters without diacritical marks.

One great argument in favour of introducing the Roman character in India, is the uniformity of sounds which will be secured to the whole country. But the argument is based on a fallacy. Sounds are regulated by the condition of our vocal chords, and as those chords must change in their tension, elasticity and power, with every change of climate, human organs of speech cannot produce the same sounds with equal facility everywhere. Hence it is that the Roman letters have no uniformity in Europe. They differ in almost every different country. The alphabet of England is not the alphabet of France, nor is the the alphabet of France that of Germany, Sweden, or Russia. In each of those countries the same letters are very differently pronounced, and the difference is greatly increased when they coalesce into words. Further, they do not retain the same sounds in all positions. Their natures and powers vary, and they become hard or soft, long or short, sounding or mute, with reference to the natures of their neighbours, and hence a constant source

of difficulty presents itself in their use. This is well illustrated in the pronunciation of Englishmen and Frenchmen. The two races use the same alphabet borrowed from one common source, and yet such is the force of *genius loci* on sounds, that Englishmen find the greatest difficulty in pronouncing French words correctly, and the Frenchman is rare who can speak English like an Englishman.

It is to obviate this difficulty and secure uniformity in spelling and reading, that the "Phonetic System" has been originated in England, and Ellis, Pitman and others are trying to supersede the Roman characters altogether. This problem of phonetic reform involves questions of mathematics, physiology, and acoustics, besides those of convenience, easy writing, and economy of printing, which I cannot undertake to discuss. The system that will satisfy all the requirements of the different languages that we have to deal with, remains yet to be devised, and until that is done it would be too hasty to take up the proposition in connexion with the Indian dialects. The advocates of the phonetic system, who are making such rapid strides in England, will, some day, do away with the present arbitrary and puzzling English orthography, and then will be the proper time to think of romanizing the Indian vernaculars. At present the want of uniformity of the Roman character in the different countries of Europe, has led to many dissimilar and often contradictory systems of romanising; and since every one of them is more or less defective, their introduction in vernacular writing in India, where we have to deal with several distinct nationalities having many peculiar sounds of their own, cannot but prove most troublesome and vexatious. Their sound, even when stereotyped by a number of diacritical marks, will still remain peculiar, and be quite as unintelligible as foreign letters to an ordinary European scholar. No language unaffected by physical causes can borrow sounds. Centuries of the

Norman conquest failed to force French sounds into English organs of speech,* and it is impossible, therefore, to suppose that the European languages will ever receive foreign sounds for the sake of a few diacritical marks : and if they will not, where then is the uniformity for which we are to sacrifice all the Indian dialects ? If the familiar English *c*, the emblem at different times of *s* and *k*, is to read as *ch*, and our *ch* to become something very different, it would be a delusion to talk of uniformity and universality.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, that foreign sounds can be naturalised in Europe, in order to familiarise them to Europeans, it would be necessary first to remove the ordinary Roman alphabet from European Primers, and supply its place by a standard one, be it of Lepsius, Max Müller, or some other ; and when it becomes universal in Europe, then to apply it in writing the Indian dialects, so as to render the latter easily readable by everybody, and the alphabet identically the same everywhere. But as no European nation will learn 189 characters instead of 26 to 36, and that simply for the possible need of learning a foreign language, the plan cannot but appear quixotic in the extreme. Besides, some of the sounds of native languages are so peculiar that to know them correctly the language in which they occur must be learnt, and he who has the leisure and inclination to learn a foreign language will never find its alphabet a stumbling-

* Perhaps the real cause of the arbitrary character of the English alphabet is due to the adoption of the Roman letters by the Saxons for a Teutonic language, the sounds of which they could not represent without assuming other than the sounds which had been originally assigned to them. Hence it is that the Latin dentals *t* and *d* have become cerebrals in English, the latter having no *t* and *d* sound at all. Translating from the English, a great number of foreign names are, in the vernaculars, written with cerebral *t* and *d* when they should be represented by dentals. A ridiculous instance of this occurs in a Bengálí novel where an apeing young Bengálí is made to call his father টৌটারাম ডট্ instead of তোতা-রাম দত্ত.

block. If he cannot learn the alphabet, he is never likely to learn the language. There is no system of alphabet on earth which cannot be mastered in a couple of hours, and which would not become perfectly familiar in a month, but there is not a language that I know of, which the greatest linguist could acquire with sufficient accuracy for purposes of ordinary conversation, in six months.

Much stress has been laid upon the fact of the natives of the Peninsula being separated from each other by a number of alphabets, and rendered incapable of mutual intercourse, and on the advantage that would accrue to them by having a common alphabet. But I feel certain that the evil pointed out would not yield to the remedy proposed. We find that while in Northern India, the Hindus with their Nágarí and the Muhammadans with their Persian, meet with no difficulty in carrying on familiar intercourse, the Englishman with his Roman character common to all Europe must starve in a provincial hotel across the channel, if he knew not that bread in French was *pain*. What is wanted, therefore, is a common language, and not a common alphabet. The latter even when attained, can, at best, but gratify a fancy—that of ideal uniformity, while the former would be a positive good, and come home to the business and bosom of all who attain it.

No discussion on the value of an alphabet in the present day can be complete without reference to its adaptability to printing. I wish, therefore, to say a few words on the subject, though I claim no especial knowledge of that art. It has been repeatedly said that the Roman letters occupy less space, and are more easily composed, more lasting, less liable to breakage, and consequently more economical than any other known class of letters, and if these could be proved to be facts, a strong argument doubtless would be made out in its favour. But I am afraid the advocates of the Roman alphabet have come to their conclusion without making suffi-

cient enquiry. I have been assured by several respectable printers, and I know from personal knowledge, that the cost of composing in Sanskrit and Bengálí types is much lower than that of setting up Roman letters; and that the lasting quality of the former compared to that of the latter, is as two to one. The Rev. C. B. Lewis, of the Baptist Mission Press, assures me that "the English type soonest shows signs of wearing out. This arises from the more delicate outline of a nicely cut Roman and Italic type—and especially from the seriff of the letters, *i. e.*, the fine line at the end of each stroke of *b*, *p*, *u*, *s*. When this line is worn off, the Roman letter, even if otherwise good, has a very ancient, decayed look." As regards breakage, the Roman type has great advantage over the Nágarí, but this advantage is entirely negatived by its wearing out much faster than the latter. On the whole therefore the balance of advantage is in favour of the oriental type, and against the Roman. Nor is this compensated by any saving of space through the slimness of the Roman letters. I have a volume by me, containing a prayer by the Armenian Patriarch, Saint Nersetis Clajensis, translated into thirty-three different languages, and also separate pamphlets contaning translations of the same into Sanskrit, Bengálí and Burmese. The translations in German, Hebrew, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Chaldee, Ethiopic, Malayan, Burmese, and Chinese are given in large type: the rest in type very nearly alike. These books therefore offer valuable data* for ascertaining the extent of space

* The following list shews the number of pages which the prayer takes up in the different languages. Armenian 13 pages, Greek 12, Latin 13, Italian 15, French 13, Spanish 14, Lusitanian 16, German 15, Dutch 14, Swedish 14, Danish 13, Icelandic 13, Greenlandic 14, English 14, Hibernian 14, Celtic 16, Wallachian 14, Russian 14, Polish 15, Illyrian 13, Servian 13, Hungarian 14, Iberiac 22, Turkish 13, Persian 16, Arabic 15, Hebrew 14, Syriac 17, Chaldee 31, Chinese 25, Æthiopic 23, Malayan 20, Malayalim 21, Burmese 12, Sanskrit 12, Bengálí 12. This shows that the Greek, the Sanskrit and the Bengálí are the best.

which a given quantity of matter takes up in different type, and on examining them, I find that the Roman is inferior to the Greek, Sanskrit, Bengálí, and Burmese, and that if the Semitic letters be reduced to the same face as that of the Long Primer or the Bourgeois, they would far surpass the Roman in compactness. No doubt the natives of this country, accustomed to manuscripts for ages, are fond of large types, as were the natives of Europe two or three centuries ago; but already the people of Bengal have taken to Bourgeois and Brevier in Bengálí, and the same will soon follow in the Nágarí and the Persian. It is possible that Bengálí types, as generally used, with the vowel marks cast in separate pieces and the lines leaded out, take, face for face, a little more space than the Roman, but, while this disadvantage may be easily obviated by mechanical means, the superiority of the Roman on this account is so small, that it cannot at all make up for the defects which have been set forth above.

As a question of policy it would not be proper for our present Government—the most liberal and tolerant that India ever had—to force the introduction of the Roman character into our schools and courts. One great cause of complaint in Poland, Hungary, Schleswig-Holstein, and Austrian Italy is the attempt on the part of the conquerors to force their languages on the subject races, by introducing them into the courts of those countries, and a similar course in India, even if confined to the alphabet alone, will, I apprehend, prove a like source of discontent. The Hindus regard their alphabet to be of divine origin (Deva Nágarí) and a gift from the Godhead. With it is associated their religion, their literature, and their ancient glory. To touch it is to meddle with their religion, their past greatness, and their cherished recollections. In the case of Austria, Russia, and Denmark there is some advantage in prospect. It is a prerogative of Government and a source of power to use its own mother-tongue in the

courts established by it, though the main object of dispensation of even-handed justice may not thereby be fully attained. The people of India could understand the object of introducing the English language into our courts, though they would feel the injustice of sacrificing the interest of the million for the convenience of a few officials. But they cannot but think it a gratuitous and vexatious interference with their language, to force upon them an alphabet which is avowedly unfit to represent its system of phonology, and that merely for the sake of an idea. Give them what is good for them, and they will receive it with thankfulness. Offer them the English language, and they will learn it with all their might and main, for they know it enables them to have intercourse with their governors, and opens the way to wealth and power ; but they cannot perceive that changing their own ancient and superior alphabet for a defective one, can do them any good, and they will have none of it. The interference of Government in such a case cannot but prove mischievous, for were the Government even to confine its patronage of the Latin character to printing vernacular books in it and giving them a wide circulation, it would still displease its subjects, for, preternaturally suspicious as they are, they cannot but look upon such a measure as an act of antagonism against their ancient literature, while it will divert to a useless channel a portion of the limited resources of the education department. The Germans are more highly civilized and more intelligent than any modern Asiatic race, and yet they have, up to this time, notwithstanding the experience of centuries, failed to appreciate the superiority of the slim Roman to the cumbrous German type. The Hindus cannot but prove infinitely more obtuse. It has been said that a patriotic feeling for their ancient characters prevents the Germans from adopting the Roman letters. If so, (and most probably it is so,) how much stronger must that feeling be

in the Hindus in favour of the alphabet in which is preserved their ancient and much revered Vedas, and which is the repository of all their correspondence, accounts and title-deeds. Teach the Roman character in our vernacular village schools, and you will teach what the pupils will be most anxious to unlearn, for it cannot help them at all in the affairs of their lives for centuries to come, nor keep them *au courant* of the rest of their countrymen. For my part I believe, with Sir Erskine Perry, that "were a legislative enactment to insist, even under penalty of death, upon the use of the Roman character, it could not convert our banias' accounts to round German text."

Grand no doubt is the idea of a universal alphabet, and grander still is that of a universal language, but the curse of Babel is still upon us, and neither the one nor the other is practicable.

POSTSCRIPT.

I take this opportunity to express my entire concurrence in the opinion expressed by Capt. Lees, on the reading of my paper in August last, as to the number of non-Hindí or foreign words traceable in the Urdu. My estimate of 40 to 50 out of every hundred was founded upon the ordinary run of Urdu books, and is not applicable to the style of some of the works patronised by the late effete courts of Delhi and Lucknow. The percentage of foreign words in those books, is, I readily admit, much higher. But at the same time it will be seen from the subjoined extract from the *Sarúr i Sultáni*, the book to which Capt. Lees particularly drew my attention, that it is not so excessively great as to affect much my general conclusion. I add an extract from the *Fisháneh Ajáéb* which also belongs to the highly Persianised class of writings of the *Sarúr i Sultáni*, and the relative proportion of Hindí and foreign elements in it appears to be as 62 to 38 ; in the first named book it is 57 to 43, *i. e.*, 60 and 64 per

cent. respectively. My quotations are, I must acknowledge, taken at random, and there are passages in both the works which are much more Persianised, while there are others which are less so ; but on the whole they may be, I believe, taken as fair average specimens, as the facts they yield correspond very closely with the results of my enumeration and classification of the words of several pages of each of the two works. To be exact it would be necessary to count and classify all the words that occur in them, and even then no satisfactory conclusion could be drawn, owing as much to my own limited knowledge of the Semitic languages as to the doubtful origin of many of the words. It is even likely that my division of the Hindí and foreign words in the short extracts given below will be questioned ; but that will not, I believe, alter my position, for I do not depend so much upon the relative proportion of the two elements of the Urdu, as upon its structure and grammar, which I contend is purely Hindí. The verbs *hai*, *thá*, *huá*, *geyá*, *dekhe*, *sunke*, *&c.*, in the extracts are all without exception Hindí; the case affixes *ke*, *ká*, *ki*, *son*, *men*, *&c.*, are likewise Hindí, and so are the pronouns and prepositions, *apne*, *uoh*, *se*, *tak*, *kia*, *&c.* Take away those case-affixes, verbs and prepositions, and the sentences will crumble down and cease to be sentences. It would not be elegant to say in English " the bouleversing of the escritoire created quite a sensation in the boudoir of the Mademoiselle ;" but similar sentences are not rare in first class periodicals and novels, and they afford a fair example of what the Urdu is. Their construction and grammar are English, and though we may call them Gallicised, we cannot say they are French. No Frenchman would for a moment recognise them as such. English rhetoricians, condemn them, and very justly no doubt, but still they admit them to be English, and quote them as specimens of English. Following them we may call the Urdu *Persianised* Hindí,

but still Hindí, and not Persian. In the four Muhammadan-Bengálí books, from which extracts are given below, the number of foreign words appear to be quite as large as in the ordinary run of Urdu books, and yet those books are described by their authors to be Bengálí, and translated from the Persian and Urdu expressly for the people of Bengal. Virtually their language is as much the Urdu of Bengal, or Bengálí Urdu, as the Urdu is the Hindí Urdu, or the Urdu of the North-West. If they be taken for distinct languages, I see no reason why the anglicised Hindí in which Englishmen in India say,

E 1 E 2 H 1 E 3 E 4 H 2
"*Bearer couchká sámne álmárime pantaloon rakkho,*"

should not also be called a new language. In it we find no less than four European and only two Hindí words. Similarly, the Bengálí of our courts, which contains twenty per cent. of English words, would have a fair claim to a distinct rank. The language of Young Bengal again is a patchwork of English nouns and Bengálí verbs, and yet nobody has thought of calling it a distinct language. And if they are not distinct languages, but corruptions and dialectic varieties of one language, the Urdu can hold no higher position.

The colloquial Urdu of the masses contains a smaller admixture of foreign words than the written Urdu, and Capt. Lees is of opinion that it is a distinct dialect, independent of the Urdu of our books; to it he applies the term Hindustání. But the principle of this subdivision is open to grave objection. Pressed to its legitimate end, it would justify our dividing every living language into not only two distinct dialects, the written and the colloquial, but to as many dialects as there are orders and ranks of people.

Extract from the Surúr-i Sultání, p. 11.

F 5 F 4 H 4 H 3 H 2 H 1 F 3 F 2 F 1
جمشید اولوالعزم طبیعتکا تیز تھا ، اوھےکو گلادیا زرہ جوشن

H13 H12 H11 H10 H9 F7 H8 F6 H7 H6 H5
بنایا ریشمي کپڑا ایجاد کیا رعیت کو شاد کیا جس جگهه زمین

F12 H18 H17 F11 H16 F10 H15 H14 F9 F8
قابل زراعت دیکھي پاني کا چشمه پایا خلق کو بسایا دیو محکوم

F16 H23 H22 H21 F15 F14 F13 H20 H19
تھے اونسے عمارت مستحکم ایوان محل سرپخته بنوائي ادمیون کو

F22 F21 H27 H26 F20 F19 F18 H25 H24 F17
ترکیب سکھائي تخت مرصع جواهر نگار تیار هوا شروع سال کا

F23 H36 H35 H34 H33 H32 H31 H30 H29 H28
نو روز نام هوا جشن کا سرانجام هوا جب تخت پر جلوس

H45 H44 H43 H42 H41 F25 H40 H39 F24 H38 H37
کرکے جهازکا عزم هوتا دیو بروئی هوا تخت اوڑا لیجاتے هاتھون

F27 H50 F26 H49 H48 H47 H46
هاتھه پہنچاتے سات سی برس سلطنت کي مگر فردوسي درین

F29 F28 H51
سال هنقصد همین رفت کار ندیدند مرکه اندران روز گار § یکایک بادۂ نخوت

H54 F35 H53 F34 F33 F32 H52 F31 F30
کا دماغ مین جوش هوا دفعۃ خود فراموش هوا عبدیت بهولا

57 F38 F37 H56 H55 F36
معبودی کا دعوی کیا شیطان نے رسوا کیا

Extract from the Fisáneh Ajáeb, p. 7.

F6 F5 H6 H5 H4 F4 H3 H2 F3 H1 F2 F1
سبحان الله و بحمده عجب شهر گلذار هی * هر گلی کوچه دلچسپ

H17 F9 H16 H15 F8 H14 H13 H12 F7 H11 H10 H9 H8 H7
باغ و بهار هی * هر شخص اپنے طور پر قطعهدار هی * دو رویه بازار

F13 H22 H21 F12 F11 H20 H19 H18 H18
کس انداز کا هی * هر دوکان مین سرمایۂ ناز و نیاز کا هی * هر چند

F15 H30 H29 F14 F28 H27 H26 H25 H24 H31
هر محلے مین جهان کا ساز و سامان مهیا هی * پر اکبری

§ Persian Quotation from Ferdusi.

H38 F19 H37 H39 F18 F17 H35 H34 H33 F16 H32 H32 H31
دروازیسے چلو جاے اور پکے پل تک کہ صراط مستقیم ھی * کیا جلسہا ھی
H41 F 26 H 40 F25 F24 F23 F 22 F 21 H 39 F 20
ذنبائی خوش سلیقہ شیر مال کباب نان نہاری جہان کی نعمت اس
H 47 F 31 F 30 H45 F 29 H44 H 43 F28 H 47 F 27
ابداریکی جسکي بو باس سے دل طاقت پائے دماغ معطر ہوجاے *
H54 H53 F34 H52 H51 F33 H 50 H49 H48 F33 F 32
فرستہ گذرے تر سونگھے * کیسا ھی سیر ھو ذرہ تدبیر ھو دیکھے سے
H 56 H 55
بھوکھہ لگ آے *

The following is an extract from the *Iblisnámeh* (p. 1.) The total number of words in it is 58, of which 35 are Bengálí and 23 foreign. Its grammar is pure Bengálí.

F 1 F 2 F 3 B 1 B 2 F 4 B3 B 4 F 5 B 5 B 6
পহেলাতে বেছমেল্লা, শুরু করি নামে আল্লা সে নামে ছেপ্ত শুন২ ভাই ।
F 6 F7 B 7 F 8 F 9 B 8 B9 B10 B11 B 12
আমেলফাজেল তারে, এরবিতে তরজমা করে, মুর্খলোকে তাহা বোঝেনাই ॥
B13 B14 F 10 B 15 B 16 B17 B18 B19 B20 B 21
শুন ভাই বেরাদরি, একারণে বাঙ্গালা করি, লেখি আমি বুঝিবার তরে ।
F 11 F 12 B22 B 23 B24 B25 F 13 F 14 B26 B 27
আরবি ফারছির তরে, কেহুনা বুঝিতে পারে, সোকর ছেফত বলে কারে ।
F 15 F16 B28 F 16 F 17 F 18 F 19 B29 B30 F20
আল্লার ছেফত যত, থোড়া এয়ছা হকিকত, কেতাব মত করিজে বয়ান ॥
F 21 F 22 B 31 B 32 B33 B34 B 35 F 23
মুরসিদের হুকুমমতে, অবুঝাকে বুঝাইতে, পুথি করি বাঙ্গালা জোবান ॥

The following is from the *Kiámatnámeh* (p. 2). The number of Bengálí words in it is 36, that of foreign 16.

B 1 B 2 F 1 B 3 F 2 B 4 F 3 F 4 B5 F 5
নাজানি কেমন ভেদ আছে কেয়ামতে। কি রূপে হাসর খাড়া হবে আখে-
B 6 F 6 B 7 B8 B9 B10 B 11 B12 B13 B14
রেতে॥ বাঙ্গালা জবানে যদি কেহ কহে ভাই। আপনা চক্ষেতে দেখ মনকে

B 15 F 7 F 8 B16 B17 B 18 F 9 B19 B20B21
বুঝাই ॥ এয়ছাই তালাস লোগ করে যেথাসেথা। কাহেনি করিয়া কেহ না
B 22 F 10 B 23 B 24 F 11 F 12 B 25 B 26
করে কবিতা ॥ জাহানে অনেক আছে লায়েক কাবেল। বাঙ্গালা করিতে
B27 B28 F13 F14 B 29 F 15 B30 B31 B 32 B 33
কার নাহি ফিরে দেল ॥ লোকের খাহেস দেখে ভাবে মনেমনে। কেমনে
B34 B35 B36 F16
হইবে পুথি বাঙ্গালা জবানে ॥

The *Chahárdurvesh*, p. 2. which has an admixture of 16 foreign in every 40 Bengálí words, proclaims itself to be current Bengálí, translated into it in order that it may be easily understood by the Bengálí public.

চলিত বাঙ্গলায় তাই করিনু তৈয়ার। সকলে বুঝিবে ভাই কারণ ইহার।

Kázi Safí-uddín, in his preface to the *Kilas ul ambiá*, says :

এহাতে নবি ও পয়গম্বরানের কেচ্ছা কোরান সরিফ ও হদিছ হইতে ছাবেত আছে, একণে এহাকে বাঙ্গলা ভাষায় তরজমা করাইয়া বহুত খরচ করিয়া ছাপাইতেছি।

"It contains accounts of prophets and messengers according to the holy Koran and the Hadith, and now I, having got it translated into Bengálí, print it at a great cost."

The language of the translator, Reza-ullah, will be illustrated by the following extract, in which we have 17 foreign for every 24 Bengálí words.

B 1 F 1 B 2 B 3 F 2 F 3 F 4 B 4 B 5
শুন হে৷ মোমিন ভাই করিয়া খেয়াল। আখেরে সাফৎ জাঁর হইবে
F 5 F 6 F 7 F8 F 9 F 10 F 11 B 6 B7
নেহাল ॥ মহাম্মদ মোস্তা নবি আলায় হেচ্ছালাম। পয়গম্বরী হৈল তাঁর
B 8 F 12 F 13 F 14 B 9 B 10 B 11 B 12 F15
উপরে তামাম ॥ নবুওত দরিয়াতে সেই মোতি ভারী। লেখিতে ছেফত
B13 B14 B15 B16 B17 F 16 B18 B19 B 20 B21
তাঁর আমি কিবা পারি। আপনা নূরেতে জারে আপে নিরঞ্জনে। প্রথমে
B 22 F 17 B 23 B 24
করিয়া পয়দা রাখিল গোপনে ॥

XVII.
VESTIGES OF THE KINGS OF GWALIOR.

Importance of antiquarian remains in India. Inscriptions from Gwalior. Père Tieffenthaler's account of the Pála kings,—its accuracy. The earliest kings whose names are recorded in inscriptions. Date of Toramána. Bhoja Deva. Vajradáma. Mahípála. Kachchhapagháta. Bhuvanapála. Madhusúdana, his successors. Summary. Inscriptions.

ORDINARILY, monumental history rectifies or completes written history. But in India, where oblivion has gloriously triumphed over all ancient records, making puzzles of Cyclopean erections, and turning old glories into dreams; where most of her sovereigns and great men live not in the pages of a Xenophon or a Thucydides, but in a few fanciful fables, rude coins, smouldering ruins, and blotted inscriptions; it has to establish a history and not to rectify it. Hence it is, that in India it has a value which is utterly unknown in other parts of the civilized world. It has already thrown valuable light upon the annals of many a prosperous reign; and much is yet expected of it. Our As'okas and Guptas live but in their inscriptions and coins, and our Scythians and Indo-Bactrians, and Shah Kings have left to us their only vestiges in their mint-marks. Individual inscriptions and coins may not often yield matter of engrossing importance; but as most inscriptions of by-gone times, when only kings and princes and such like men could afford the luxury of recording inscriptions, contain something which in connexion with others may be of interest in elucidating the annals of the country, I trust, the following analysis and translations of some inscriptions from the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, affording as they do the traces of a number of sovereigns,

mostly unknown to Oriental scholars, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader. For fac-similes of these inscriptions I am indebted to the Government Archæological Enquirer, General Alexander Cunningham, who has been kind enough to place at my disposal, for publication, reduced copies of several of them in anticipation of a paper by him on the antiquities and history of Gwalior.*

Père Tieffenthaler, in his description of Agra, has given a long list† of a race of kings, the first of whom Souradj Pál or S'urya Pála is said to have been the founder of the

* The paper has since been publish in the Archæological Survey Report, Vol. II., pp. 330.

† The list runs as follows :—

Suite des Rajahs gentils de Gualier, de la race de Catschua.

1. Le premier a été *Souradjsen*, qui changes sonnom en celui de *Souradjpál*, et batit la fameuse forteresse de *Gualier*, l'an 332 de l'Ere Indienne appeleé l'Ere de *Bikarmatschet*. Il la nomma *Gualier* d'aprés un Hermite nommé Gualipa, qui le guérit de la lèpre avec l'eau tirée d'une fontaine (ou source) et qui l'anima et l'aida á constiuire cette forteresse. *Souradjpál* la gouverna, ainsi que son district pendant, ... Ans. 36

2. Son fils Rescpál lui succeda, mais ne gouverna qu'un, ... 1

3. Ensuit le fils de celui-la Narhalapál, ... 0

4. Apres le precedent, Amarpál, ... 10

5. Bhimpál, ... 25

6. Gangpál, fils du préc, ... 21

7. Radjapál, de même, ... 10

8. Bodjpál, de même, ... 10

9. Padampál, de même, ... 29

10. Anangpál, de même, ... 12

11. Enderpál, ... 3

12. Mahendar pál, ... 13

13. Djenatpál, ... 14

14. Bassantpál, ... 17

15. Scheoupál, ... 3

16. Dhandpál, ... 11

17. Latschmipál, ... 4

18. Lohendarpál, ... 2

19. Bhanderpál, fils du préc, fondateur de la forteresse et de la ville de Bhander, ...

20. Adjepál, (Tous ceux qu'on vient de nommer descendoient de Souradjpál,) 9

21. Adjepál succeda Assapál ... 0

22. Sehspál 0

23. Bhodjpál 0

24. Bherounpál, ... 0

25. Cantpál, ... 0

26. Tschandar Soukhpál, ... 0

27. Goumnatpál, ... 0

28. Nakesspál, ... 0

29. Ságarpál, ... 0

30. Madhpál, ... 0

31. Amharpál, ... 0

32. Kantpál, ... 0

33. Kirathpál, ... 3

fort under notice. He built it in the year of Samvat 332 = A. D. 275, and dedicated it to his patron saint, Guálipa. The story runs that this worthy had predicted that the race in question, the Kachvaha, would hold the place as long as they should retain the surname Pála, but that the first transgressor would forfeit the heritage, and for ever. Accordingly the successors of S'urya uninterruptedly held the stronghold and the territory around it for several centuries, until at last a daring prince, in the person of the 85th descendant, Tejakarṇa, neglected the surname, and lost the principality to the Pauvárs of Amber.

34.	Danipál, ...	19	60.	Zagdigpál, ...	30
35.	Bhippál, ...	4	61.	Gangpál, mort sans enfans,	31
36.	Hamirpál, ...	9	62.	Ramdewpa'l, ...	20
37.	Tschatarpál, ...	3	63.	Bhoumpa'l, ...	3
38.	Bhoumenderpál, ...	10	64.	Hartschandpa'l, ...	17
39.	Hirpál, ...	30	65.	Birkhpa'l, ...	3
40.	Nakenderpál, ...	6	66.	Tilekpa'l, ...	11
41.	Sindhpál.	2	67.	Bedjepa'l, ...	9
42.	Sindhoupál, ...	7	68.	Dandherpa'l, ...	6
43.	Mahespál, ...	9	69.	Nilcanthpa'l, ...	5
44.	Ruddarpa'l, ...	13	70.	Partab Rudderpa'l, ...	10
45.	Madanpa'l, ...	20	71.	Madhpa'l, ...	7
46.	Adjepa'l, ...	14	72.	Bhopa'l, ...	3
47.	Sadhanpa'l, ...	20	73.	Assoupa'l, ...	30
48.	Birbhadarpa'l,... ...	13	74.	Enderpa'l, ...	5
49.	Candarpa'l, ...	21	75.	Kerpa'l, ...	3
50.	Sedjpa'l, ...	21	76.	Karanpa'l, ...	16
51.	Dewenderpa'l,... ...	25	77.	Agarpa'l, ...	0
52.	Ramtschand Issorpa'l, ...	30	78.	Manpa'l, ...	3
53.	Houdpa'l, ...	6	79.	Beschanpa'l, ...	21
54.	Saroudjenpa'l,... ...	9	80.	Sagarpa'l, ...	16
55.	Paroudjenpa'l,... ...	2	81.	Ender Sehspa'l, ...	11
56.	Reskpa'l, ...	19	82.	Renpa'l, ...	1
57.	Anangpa'l, ...	7	83.	Houmarpa'l, ...	19
58.	Anantpa'l, ...	5	84.	Boudhpa'l, ...	27
59.	Gadjpa'l, ...	7	85.	Tedjcaran, fils de Boudhpa'l,	0

Bernoulli, Description historique et geographique de l'Inde, Vol. I., p. 217

How far this fable is worthy of credit, it is scarcely worth while to enquire; never in the history of Indian principalties within the last two thousand years, has there been an instance of uninterrupted succession of 85 potentates of one race all enjoying the same patronymic; while certain it is that during the period which would belong to the Pálas, there were several kings of the Pramára and other races who exercised the powers of either immediate rulers or of suzerains, over Gwalior. This fact would argue very strongly against the authenticity of Tieffenthaler's list; nevertheless, I think it possible that a small principality with limited powers, sometimes independent and sometimes in vassalage, might exist for a long series of years in the same family. At any rate it will not be too much to assume, on the strength of the tradition which has borne paternity to the list, that the Kushites were the founders of Gwalior, and that they did long exercise sovereignty within its precincts. No monument, however, has yet been found which records the name of any of the Pálas as an immediate ruler of that place.

The earliest name that has been found in any inscription in connexion with Gwalior is that of Toramáṇa, and next that of Pas'upati, his son. But both are put down for suzerains, and not immediate rulers, and this is most probable, as we find their names in connexion with Málwá, Guzaráṭ and Káshmír, where the Pálas have had no control. The record which bears their name exists on a Vaishṇavite temple in the fortress of Gwalior, and is marked No. 1 in General Cunningham's collection. (Plate I. fig. 1, Journal, Asiatic Society.)

A translation of it has already been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, along with a conjecture of mine on the identity of the sovereigns named in it with two of the Gonandya Kings of Káshmír. How far the opinion there hazarded is based on facts, it is not for me

now to enquire; I am glad, however, to perceive that Dr. Bháu Dájí of Bombay, in his paper on Kálidásá,* arguing on very different grounds, has come to the conclusion that the different Toramáṇas noticed in inscriptions are identical with the prince named in the Rájatarangini. The date he assigns to them is, however, a century later. This I am not at all surprised at. Dealing with a subject on which exact information is, of course, unattainable, and where historical conclusions are of necessity to a great extent hypothetical, it would be remarkable if, at least, some of my assertions had not met with opposition.

The writer of a letter "on some recent statements touching certain of the Gupta Kings and others," adverting to my remark that the Toramáṇa of Káshmír lived about the end of the fifth century observes :† "No attempt whatever has been made to set aside my implied assignment of him on the basis of an ascertained date to the first half of the second century, and the time of Budhagupta, on which his own depends, is hypothetically reckoned by the Bábu in an era which perhaps began in A. D. 278. The result is a difference of three hundred and thirty-five years." The ascertained date to which the writer so emphatically appeals is contained in a foot-note to his paper on the Eran inscriptions,‡ in which he says; "Since writing this paper I have had time before sending it to the press, to refer for a solution of the date in question, to my friend Bápu Deva S'ástrin, Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College. He apprises me in reply that it conforms to the era of Vikramáditya and does not conform to that of Sáliváhana. It is, therefore, all but demonstrably certain that Budhagupta was reigning on Thursday, the 7th of June, in the year of our Lord one hundred and eight, new style. Toramáṇa must

* Journal, Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. p. 220, et seq.

† Journal A. S., Vol. XXX. p. 387.

‡ Journal, A. S., Vol. XXX. p. 15.

have flourished shortly after him, with something of likelihood, indeed, as his next successor."

The basis for this correction thus is no other than the *ipse dixit* of Paṇḍita Bápu Deva, opposed as it is to the deductions of Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, and other distinguished orientalists. I have the highest respect for the Paṇdit's learning. But I know not how he can positively deduce from the data of the Eran document, that it was recorded in the era of Vikramáditya and of no other. The date there given is: "In the year 165, on the 12th day of the light fortnight of the month of Áshádha," according to the revised decipherment published in the last volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, and "165, the thirteenth day of the light fortnight, in the month of Áshádha" agreeably to Prinsep's reading.* The fac-simile published by Prinsep is in favour of his version, but the accuracy of that document has been questioned, and therefore until another fac-simile is published, it is impossible to decide which of the two is the correct reading. And since the premise thus remains undecided, deductions founded upon it must necessarily be very dubious. Even were I to admit the date of the re-decipherer, I do not think it would follow, (I have not the leisure now to calculate,) that the 12th of the light fortnight in Áshádha on the meridian of Gwalior could be conjoined with a Thursday only on the 165th year of Vikramáditya, and on no other year. If it be so, still the question would occur, were the calculations of the almanac from which the date was taken, founded upon the meridian of Ujjayiní, the best known in India? or of Lanká? or of Kanouj? or of Gwalior? and if the last, when was the moon's age reckoned? at its beginning, the middle, or the

* I have since revised the translation of the date in my paper on an Inscription of the time of Skandah Guptah in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XLIII., p. 634.

end? Without these data, no calculation can be so exact as to give us the era of a document from its date, much less to point out its correspondence with a foreign era with the circumstantiality of new styles and old styles. The testimony of Alberuni leaves no doubt as to the existence of an era of the Guptas, and, *à priori*, one would suppose that the era which would be current in the time of a Gupta sovereign would be that of his family. To controvert such an idea, it is necessary that we should have something more satisfactory than the ex-cathedra opinion of a single individual. Mr. Thomas and General Cunningham are still at issue as to the commencement of the Gupta era, and as long as that point remains unsettled and the date of the Toramáṇa of Káshmír is not proved to be different, the conjecture regarding the identity of the several Toramáṇas of Eran, Gwalior, Káshmír, and, I may add, of the third Girnar inscription adjoining that of the bridge of Palásiní, will maintain its ground, and the date of that prince left to float between the middle of the 5th to the end of the 6th century. The several dates already assigned to Toramáṇa are, 1st, 87-8 B. C., by Professor Wilson; 2nd, 88-9 B. C., by Major Troyer; 3rd, 415 A. D., by General Cunningham; 4th, 110 to 120 A. D., by Mr. Hall; 5th, middle of the fifth century, by myself; 6th, seventh century by Dr. Bháu Dújí.*

Taking Toramáṇa and his son to have been suzerains and the Pálas vassals or feudatories, we know not whether on the demise of the former, the latter assumed independent sovereignty, or continued in subjugation to their neighbours; but we find that in the third quarter of the 9th century, they were placed in subordination to a Bhoja Deva, who called himself a "paramount sovereign." His name occurs in an in-

* General Cunningham's most recent researches, as embodied in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. X., fixes the date on obviously the most unquestionable data, at 356; the initial date of the Gupta era being settled at 166 A.D.

scription marked No.4* on General Cunningham's plates, (Journal Asiatic Society., XL.) and found in a temple of Vishṇu at Gwalior. It is a record in prose, in the Kuṭila character, of a somewhat peculiar type, of a grant of three small plots of arable land for a flower-garden, a *serái* or halting-place, and a drinking fountain, as also of an edict for the supply of oil and flowers to certain temples. The donor's name is not apparent, and no genealogy is given of the sovereign during whose reign the ordinance was promulgated. The grants, says the record, were made in the year of Samvat 933 = A. D. 876, when the country was under the supremacy of a Lord Paramount Bhoja Deva, whose dominion extended to Turkastána, which was governed by his Lieutenant Koṭṭapála Malla or Kongapála Malla. Where this Turkastána was situated it is difficult to make out, although it is evident that it was a large province, and included several sub-divisions or cantons (sabbiyákas) having non-Sanskrit names. This would warrant the supposition that it was a Trans-Indian locality, and situated somewhere in Balúchistan or Afghanistan. But judging from the fact that the river which is said to flow through it has a purely Indian name—*Vṛischikálá*, and the temples of the place belong to the Hindu divinities Rudra, Rudráṇí, the nine Durgás, and Pushnásá, I feel disposed to think its *locale* was nearer home, probably by the *nallá* which flows by the foot of the hill close by the temple ; certainly not quite so far as Delhi to the

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* No. 2, though placed immediately after the record of Pas'upati is apparently of a very modern date. It records the dedication of a temple to Srimad A'divaráha or the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, and alludes to the Rámáyana. The characters of the record are slightly removed from the modern Devanágari, but its language is very corrupt, and so intermixed with provincial Hindí and Marhaṭṭi (?) as not to admit of a reliable translation.

No. 3 is similar in character to the above and being imperfect is not intelligible. The first line has the name of one Sri Chandra-inika, but who he was, the monument sayeth not.

north, or the Aravalli to the west ; the Rájás of Gwalior never having, to the best of our knowledge, held sway beyond those limits. The name of one of the gods, Pushṇásá, is of doubtful origin. Pushan is a Vedic divinity, and believed to be an ancient term for the sun, and also of the presiding deity of roads,* but that word by no rule of grammar can become Pushṇásá, and the query therefore is suggested as to what relationship it may bear to the Pushan of the Pársís. The names of some of the inhabitants are Hindu, while others have strange cognomens. Some names are partly Indian and partly foreign, such as Ba-illa Bhaṭṭa and Naka-illa Bhaṭṭa, in which while the latter member is decidedly Sanskrit, the *illa* has a strong Arabic leaning.† The standard of linear measure in the country was peculiar, and known as that of the Lord Paramount—*Páramesʹvara.* The quantitive measure of *droṇi* was also different, but not peculiar to Gopagiri. The king flourished in Gwalior in the year 876, *i. e.*, nearly two centuries before the great Bhoja of Dhárá, predecessor of Udayáditya and the hero of the *Bhoja-prabandha*, and three centuries after the first (540) and two after the second Bhoja of Col. Tod (Jain MSS., 665). He was different too from the Bhojas of Bengal recorded by Tieffenthaler (Bernouli's Description historique, &c., de l'Inde, Vol. I.,) and that of the Thánesʹvara inscription noticed by me (Journal, Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII., p. 673). Almost every one of these Bhojas, called himself a "Lord Paramount," and the genealogy of several are wanting. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great concern, how superficial antiquarians jump to conclusions as to the date of any particular record from the mere name of Bhoja occurring in it. Judging from the date the sovereign

* Vide Wilson's Ṛig Veda, I., p. 115.

† The *illa* might be a Prákṛit corruption of *vatup*, but we have few instances of its use in Hindu proper names.

under notice would appear to be one of the two Bhojas of Kanouj, whose supremacy is known to have extended to the S.-W., considerably beyond the boundary of Agra, and Gwalior in their days was a part of that district. The date, however, is open to question. The first figure is peculiarly formed, and may be taken for a 7, which would carry the prince to A. D. 676 (=S. 733) or within eleven years of the 2nd Bhoja of Col. Tod, with whom he may be taken to be indentical.

For a long time after Bhoja, we know nothing of the history of Gwalior. According to Tieffenthaler, 71 princes of the house of Pála reigned for 860 years, at an average of 12 years per reign. If we allow at that rate, 168 years to the remaining 14 princes of his list whose reigns are not recorded, the era of the last would be brought to the beginning of the 14th century (1303)—but it appears from the inscriptions before us that the supremacy of the Pálas had passed away in the middle of the 10th century, for we find Mahendrachandra, son of Mádhava, on the throne of Gwalior in 958, and Vajradáma 20 years after him. Mahendra is noticed in an inscription, (Plate I. fig. 5,*) recorded at Suhaniya on the pedestal of a Jain figure, which was dedicated by him. His name, however, appears without the usual regal titles, and his claim to royalty may therefore be questioned. The writing of the record is interrupted by Jain emblems. The last word is incorrectly given ; it is evidently a corruption of *pratisthita.* It is dated Samvat, 1013.

Vajradáma likewise appears on the pedestal of a Jain figure which was consecrated on the 5th of the waxing moon in the month of *Vais'ákha,* Samvat 1034=A. D. 977. The record (No. 6 of General Cunningham's plates) does not allude

* The plates referred to in this article will be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It has not been deemed expedient to reprint them in this volume.

to the race of the sovereign, but we have that information in some detail in an inscription on an adjoining Jain temple. (Appendix, No. 7.) It is inscribed on two large slabs measuring 5'×2" by 1'×7," and 5'×6" by 1'×6," respectively, the number of lines being 21 on each. General Cunningham has not included this record in his plates, but he has favoured me with a facsimile of it. I have also a *Ṭhenṭ* Hindi translation of it, which was prepared for the late Major Markham Kittoe. The original document is in Sanskrit, and comprises 110 stanzas in various metres, the characters being intermediate between the Kuṭila and the modern Devanágari. It opens with a salutation to Padmanátha, and records the dedication of a temple to that divinity by a Mahárájá Mahipála in the Samvat year 1149=A. D. 1092. The document itself was composed or rather completed, for the whole of it could not have been composed, on the 5th of the wane in the month of Ás'vina, 1150=A. D. 1093. The composer of the deed was one Maṇikaṇṭha, of the Bharadvája gotra, and its writer Digambarárka. Its engraving needed the services of three artists, Padma, son of Devasvámi, Siñhavája and Máhula.

The genealogy of the Rájá begins with one Kachchhapagháta, a mighty sovereign "who was revered by innumerable princes," but of whose race and dominion, nothing seems to be known. Judging from his name "the destroyer" (gháta) of the "Kachchhapa,"* I imagine he was of Puár descent and of the solar race. Col. Wilford, in his essay on Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana,† states that Gwalior, ancient Gopagiri, passed from the Pálas to the

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* In an inscription dated 1177, mention is made of a prince of Nalapura, named Vírasiñha Deva, who was a "sun to the lilies in the lake of the happy Kachchhapagháta lineage," and therefore of the race of the sovereign here named; the genealogy, however, not being given, it is difficult to ascertain the exact relationship he bore.—Journal, American Oriental Society, Vol. VI., p. 545.

† Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX., p. 513.

Puárs, but he gives us no clue to the whereabouts of his authorities. According to Col. Tod* the descendants of Kus'a, son of Ráma, first settled at Rhotás, whence after a time they spread under the name of Kachvahas or Kachchhapas to the West and the South. To the West they went as far as Ámber, where they established a flourishing principality, and checked the spread of their kinsmen, the descendants of Lava and the 36 Agnikula Rájputs. In their progress to the West, they had evidently taken Gwalior, for the 85 Pálas of that place are known to have been Kachvahas. I have no faith in the number 85, nor in the periods assigned to the different sovereigns in the list of Tieffenthaler; but it would not be too much to suppose that a long line of the Kus'ites did reign in Gwalior, and that our Kachchhapagháta was a conqueror of one of those Kachvahas, from which circumstance he assumed his distinctive surname.

A descendant of this Kachchhapagháta was Lakshmaṇa. According to the panegryrist of his race, he was a great king, who rivalled the renowned Pṛithu of the Vedas by his extensive conquests; but they do not seem to have extended as far as Gwalior, for we read that his son Vajradáma was "the first who proclaimed his valour and his heroism by striking his kettledrum in the fortress of Gopagiri." This must have taken place a few years before 977, A. D., as we find him in that year well established in his conquered country and dedicating the Jain figure from which inscription No. 6 has been taken. Tradition has it that the Kachvahas were expelled from Gwalior by the Puárs or Puriharas, and as we find Vajradáma, the descendant of a destroyer of Kachvahas, the first who overcomes the old dynasty of the place, it will not be unreasonable to infer that he was a scion of the Puár race. Tieffenthaler supports the tradition regarding the aggression of the Puárs, or *Panuvars* as he calls

* Rájasthán, Vol. I., p. 336.

them, but his list of names does not correspond with that furnished by the inscriptions. According to his authority, the conquerors of the last Kus'ite, Tejakarṇa, was Ramdew, who was after a reign of 19 years successively followed by Brimdew (7), Makherdew (13), Rettendew (11), Lavnakdew (15), Barsingdew (17), and Parmaldew (21); the seven taking up altogether a period of 103 years. The revised list of these Puárs as revised by General Cunningham in his essay will be given lower down.

Vajradáma, according to our inscription, before entering into Gwalior, had subdued the king of Vindhyanagara. His son Mangalarája, forsaking the Jainism of his father, offered his adorations to Vishṇu, but he seems never to have achieved any political greatness. His successor Kírtirája, a prince of a warlike disposition, signalised himself in many a battle against his neighbours. Malwá was reduced by him to the rank of an appanage of Gwalior. In religion he was a S'ivite, and a temple to the Lord of Párvatí in the town of Siñhapániya still stands to attest the ardency of his devotions. The family encomiast accords to his son Bhuvanapála, the usual attributes of greatness, but has nothing specific to record of him besides his having had "a son of great beauty, unsurpassed by Karṇa in charity, and the rival of Arjuna in archery." The name of this worthy was Devapála, who bequeathed the family sceptre to his son Padmapála. Several verses are devoted to record the glories and charities of Padma, his expedition to the South (Dekkan), his wars with demons (Rákshasas), and his dedication of temples to Brahmá, Vishṇu, Lakshmí and Narasiñha. He died childless, leaving his principality to Mahipála, the son of his brother Súryapála. Nearly a third of the inscription is devoted to recount the glories of the last-named sovereign. He rivalled all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, and surpassed every eminent object in nature to which a prurient

imagination could hold him in comparison. During his reign a figure of Padmanátha came suddenly into existence, and to it he dedicated the temple by the doorway of which the inscription under notice is recorded. He caused a range of rooms to be built around the temple for the use of the officiating priests, and cut flights of steps in the solid rock to decorate the whole. Assignments of land in the district of Brahmapura were made for the support of the temple, and a charity for feeding the poor, and a large number of jewels and gold and silver utensils were presented for the use of the idol. When I first read the inscription I took the Padmanátha mentioned in it to be the same with Padmaprabhanátha, one of the 24 Jinas, and the fact of the temple now being dedicated to Jain worship confirmed my guess; but the remarks of General Cunningham on the subject has since convinced me that my guess was not correct. Padmanátha has been used in the inscription as a synonym for Vishṇu, and the invocation has the word Hari as its equivalent. The fact, too, of the mention, among the donations, of some jewellery and utensils for the idols of Aniruddha, Vámana and Vishṇu, all Hindu divinities, leave no doubt as to the temple having originally been Hindu, and of its subsequent conversion to Jain worship.

The date of Vajradáma has been recorded at 977 A. D., that of Mahipála 1093 of the same era, giving 115 years for the seven, or an average of 16$\frac{3}{7}$ years for each reign. If the date of Vajradáma's accession and that of Mahipála's death could be ascertained, this average would be slightly increased; but as it is, it affords a close approximation to the average of Indian reigns ascertained by James Prinsep. General Cunningham's more recent dates will follow.

The successor of Mahipála was Bhuvanapála, *alias* Manoratha, who is described as a Vaishṇava who resided at Mathurá and was a protector of Káyasthas. His reign lasted

for only a few years, and he was succeeded by his son Madhusúdana. The date of Madhusúdana's accession is not known, but on the 6th of the waxing moon of Mágha, in the year of Vikramárka 1161=A. D., 1104, *i. e.*, within twelve years after the erection of Mahipála's Jain temple, he dedicated a temple to Mahádeva and repaired a great number of the Hindu sacred edifices of Gwalior. His name and that of his father occur on a large tablet upwards of 6 feet in length on the Mahádeva temple. The record is, like the preceding, inscribed in characters intermediate between the Kuṭila and the modern Devanágari. Owing to the loss of a portion from the left of the record, it is difficult to make out the context of the whole. (Appendix No. 8.)

We have no monumental record of the successors of Madhusúdana for near a century. According to Tieffenthaler, Shamsuddín, king of Delhi, wrested Gwalior from the Puárs, and made it over to the *Tannvariens*, a family of Rájputs, who held it as governors for ten generations,* to the time of Humáyún. But this is opposed to the statement of Ferishtá who says that Kutabuddín took the fortress in 1193, A. D. Whether the deposed king was a Kachchhapagháta of Madhusúdana's line or not, it is difficult to ascertain; for we find on Kutab's death a Tomara prince defying his son Aram, and subsequently acknowledging fealty to his brother-in-law, Altimish, in 1232, A. D. One of the Tomaras built the celebrated fortress of Tomaragarh or Táragarh, and others of the race distinguished themselves as valiant and able chieftains. They were probably the same with the Tannvariens of Tieffenthaler, but their names do not correspond

* The names are I. Parmaldew; II. Adharandew, brother of I. (5 years); III. Biramdew, son of I. (15 years); IV. Alhandew (15 years); V. Barsingdew (75 years); VI. Doungar Sen, (30 years); VII. Kirath Sing, son of VI. (25 years); VIII. Kalian Sing, son of VII. (28 years); IX. Mán, (50 years); X. Bikarmahschit (Vikramáditya?), son of X. The reigns in some cases appear too long, but for vassals they are not altogether improbable.

with the roll of the learned Missionary. The oldest monumental names of the Tomaras are those of S'ankarendra Deva and Nága Siñha. They occur in three short records from the Teli Mandir of Gwalior, which, though undated, I judge from the style of writing to belong to the end of the 13th century. The first name occurs twice (Plate II., figs. 11 and 13), and in both places is mis-spelt, and the second is twice written in the same inscription. (Fig. 12.) The names appear without the usual regal titles.

The next name of the Tomaras which I have to notice is that of Bilanga Deva. It occurs in No. 15 of General Cunningham's plates (iii) which bears date the 5th of the waxing moon in Mágha, Samvat 1467=A. D. 1410. Tieffenthaler has a Viramdew, but he was three generations removed from Dungara. It is more probably, therefore, the same with his Barsingdew, who had a long reign of 75 years and was followed by Doungar Sen, for I find thirty years after Bilanga a Dungarendra Deva of whose reign there are three different inscriptions in General Cunningham's collection, dated respectively on Sunday the full moon, Sunday the 9th of the waxing moon, and Friday the 7th of the waxing moon, in Vais'ákha, Samvat 1497=1440 A. D. (Figs, 16, 17 and 18). The language used in these monuments is an obsolete patois unintelligible to me. The last of them records the dedication of a Jain figure by Kála, a high priest of the congregation of Ádijina. Two of the records bear the name of the Rájá who seems to have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He is described as "the supreme lord of great kings" in an inscription on the foot of a figure of Mahávíra*, which is dated the 8th of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1510=1453 A. D. His name, likewise, appears on a pillar of victory at Nárwár, which was erected by one of

* In an inscription in the collection of the late Major Kittoe, No. 34, vide Appendix No. 19.

his descendants, Syam Sháhi (Plate IV.,) as also in the Rohtas inscription on the Kothoutiya gate of the old fort at that place.*

The Nárwár Pillar records the names of probably thirteen princes, but they are not all intelligible, owing partly to effacement of the engraving and partly to the document being in an obscure patois, a mixture of Sanskrit and obsolete Hindí. They correspond, however, so closely with the names on the Rohtas monument, that I have no hesitation in accepting General Cunningham's opinion that they refer to the same dynasty, and of correcting the reading of the one by the other. The first name on the pillar is Víra Siñha, (I.) which occurs likewise at Rohtas. The second name on the pillar is illegible, and in its place at Rohtas we have Uddharaṇa, (II.) who is followed in both records by Gaṇapati Deva, (III.) whose successor, according to the Rohtas record and to the Nárwár pillar, was Dungara Siñha, (IV.) who is evidently identical with the Dungarendra of the inscriptions 17, 18 and 19. The follower of Dungara, according to the Rohtas record, was Kírti Siñha, (V.) whose counterpart at Nárwár is illegible, but there are traces of two names. Again in the Nárwár pillar the successor of Kírti Siñha is Kalyána-malla, who in the Rohtas record appears with the mongrel title of Kalyána Sháhi (VI.). The next names at Rohtas are successively, Máná Sháha (VII.), Vikrama Sháha (VIII.), Ráma Sháha (IX.), Saliváhana (X.), Syáma Sháhi (XI.), and Víramitrasena (XII.) ; of whom the eighth and the tenth appear doubtful on the Nárwár Pillar. The last two were brothers and contemporary of Jaláluddín of Delhi, who designated them "the unique heroes." The Rohtas inscription is dated Samvat 1688=A. D. 1631, which gives a period of one hundred and sixty years for the eight successors of Dungarendra who reigned in 1453, A. D. How many of

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* Journal, Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII., p. 693.

Dungara's successors were independent the family chronicler sayeth not, but we find from the Muhammadan historians that the Hindus surrendered Gwalior to the forces of the Emperor Ibráhím in 1519, A. D., probably at the time of Ráma Sháhi, and in 1543 it was taken from the troops of the Emperor Humáyún by Sher Khán, his successful competitor for the empire of India. We may fairly drop, therefore, all notice of the feudatories and vassals who succeeded to the throne of Gwalior after the middle of the 16th century.

To summarise ; according to the rolls of Tieffenthaler we have three dynasties of Hindu princes in Gwalior from 275 to the time of Humáyún. The first was named Kachvaha ; it included 85 princes and an aggregate reign of 1028 years, from 275 to 1303. It was followed by the Puárs, seven of whom took up 103 years, and thenby the Tannvariens, ten of whom spread over about 250 years. Of these the first has no mention in the records under notice. The oldest names traceable are, first Toramáṇa, and then his son Pashupati, of the 4th century ; next, after a large gap, a Lord Paramount Bhoja in the year 876 ; then after a time we have seven reigns of a race of Puárs from 977 to 1104 ; subsequently a S'aṇkarendra and a Nága Siñha without date, then Bilanga Deva in 1410, and lastly the dynasty of Dungarendra Deva including twelve princes. The names may be thus tabulated :

4th century.	Toramáṇa, Pashupati, } suzerains.
A. D. 876.	Bhoja Deva, suzerain.
„ 958.	Mahendrachaṇdra, son of Mádhava (King ?)
„ 978.	Kachchhapagháta Dynasty.
„ 925*	Lakshmaṇa.

A. D.	950* to 980	Vajradáma, son of Lakshmaṇa.
"	980*	Mangalarája.
"	990*	Kírtirája.
"	1010*	Bhuvanapála.
"	1030*	Devapála.
"	1050*	Padmapála.
"	1075* 1093.	Mahipála Súryapála.
"	1095*	Bhúvanapála, *alias* Manoratha.
"	1104.	Madhusúdana.
		S'aṇkarendra. (King?)
		Nágasiñha (King?)

TOMARA RÁJÁS OF GWALIOR FROM CUNNINGHAM'S LIST.

Date. Samvat.	Date. A. D.	Kharg Rai MS.	Tomara Zamindar MS.	Tomaras of Delhi.
1062	1005	Dhruva Bali	......	Jay Pâl.
1078	1021	Kusuma Pál	......	Kunwar Pâl.
1108	1051	Vast Karn ...	Anang Pâl ...	Anang Pâl.
1138	1081	Tej Pál ...	Bhum Pâl ...	Taj Pâl.
1162	1105	Madan Pâl ...	Mahendra Pâl	Mahi Pâl.
1187	1130	Khandagil ...	Hira Pâl ...	Anang Pâl.

Rajas.	Date. Samvat.	Date. A. D.	Kharg Rai MS.	Tomara Zamindar MS.	Inscription.	Reign.
	1208	1151	Ratan Sinh ...	Bag Pâl.		
	1232	1175	Syom Chand	Pritham Pâl.		
	1257	1200	Achal Brahm	Dilip Pâl.		
	1282	1225	Vira Sahai ...	Bir Pâl.		
	1307	1250	Madan Pâl ...	Anup Pâl.		
	1332	1275	Bhupati ...	Son Pâl.		
	1357	1300	Kunwar Si ...	Sultan Pâl.		
	1382	1325	Ghâtam Deo	Kunwar Pâl.		
	1407	1350	Brahm Deo...	Deo Brahm.		
1	1432	1375	Bir Sinh Deo	Bir Sinh Deo.	Vira Sinha Deva.	25
2	1457	1400	Udharan Deo	Viram Deo ...	Virama Deva ...	19

* The dates asterisked have been taken from General Cunningham's Reports, Volume II., p. 382.

Rajas.	Date.		Kharg Rai MS.	Tomara Zamindar MS.	Inscriptions.	Reign.
	Samvat.	A. D.				
			Dhiram Deo	Udharan Deo.		
			Lakshmi Sen	Dhol Sahai.		
3	1476	1419	Ganpati Deo	Ganpat Doc.	Ganapati Deva.	5
4	1481	1425	Dungar Si ...	Dongar Si ...	Dunggara Sinha.	30
5	1511	1454	Kirtti Sinh ...	Kil Sahai ...	Kirtti Sinha ...	25
6	1536	1479	Kalyân Sah ...	Kalyân Sahai.	Kalyâna Malla.	7
7	1543	1486	Man Sinh ...	Mân Raja ...	Mâna Sinha ...	30
8	1573	1516	Vikramâditya	Vikram Sahai.	Vikramâditya.	2
	1575	1518	Gwalior captured by Ibrahim Ludi.			
		1326	Râm Sahi ...	Ram Sahai ...	Râma Sâhá.	
	1622	1565	Sarivahan Sahi	Sâlivâhan ...	Sâlivâhana.	
	1652	1595	Syâm Rai ...	Syam Sahai.	Syama Sâh.	
	1687	1630	Sangram Sahi	Sangram Sahai.	Mitra Sena.	
	1727	1670	Krishn Sahi...	Kishen Sinh.		
	1767	1710		Bijoy Sinh.		
				Hari Sinh ...		

A. D. 1410. Bilanga Deva.

Víra Siṅha.

Uddharaṇa Deva.

Gaṇapati Deva.

„ 1440—1453. Dungarendra Deva.

„ 1468 to 1473. Kírti Siṅha.

Kalyána Malla (Sháhi).

„ 1495. Mána Sháhi.

Vikrama Sháhi.

Ráma Sháhi.

S'áliváhana.

Syáma Sháhi.

„ 1631. Viramitra Sena.

Coins of most of these princes are still extant.

APPENDIX.

Sanskrit Inscriptions alluded to above.

No. 1.—Already translated and published, (Journal, A. S., Vol. XXX., p. 275.)

No. 2.—Rock Tablet near Lakshman Puár. Not intelligible.

No. 3.—Rock Pilaster, Gwalior.

श्रीचन्द्रदूनिकस्यविष *

ब्वेंस्यतिसौंधेकौ * * *

No. 4.—Inside rock-cut temple, Fort of Gwalior.

Transcript.

(१) ॐ नमो विष्णवे। सम्बत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयस्त्रिंशदधिकषु * माघशुक्लद्विती-
याया सं ९३३ † माघसुदि २ मद्येह श्रीगोपगिरिस्वामिह

(२) परमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवतदधिकृतकोट्टपालमल्लबलाधिकृततत्तुर्कस्यानाधिकृतश्रेष्ठि
वव्वियाकर्दुच्छुवाकसार्थवाहप्रमुखसव्विया-

(३) कानां पारे। समस्तस्थाने नकद्रल्लभट्टसुतरल्लकारितश्चिकालानदीपरकूले
रुद्ररुद्राण्योपूर्णाशादिनवदुर्गायतना-

(४) यस्वभुज्यमानचूयपल्लिकाग्रामप्रतिबद्धभूमिगुणं दैर्घेण पारमेश्वरीयहस्तशत-
द्वयसप्तत्यधिकं हस्त २७० विस्तारेण

(५) हस्तशतमेकं सप्ताशीत्यधिकं हस्त १८७ पुष्पवाटिकार्थं पुण्येऽहनि प्रदत्तं
तथाऽनेनैव स्थानेनास्मिन्नेव सम्बत्सरे ‡

(६) फाल्गुनबहुलपक्षप्रतिपदि श्रीभोजदेवप्रतोल्यवतारे मल्लेनैव कारित§ वाइल्ल
भट्टस्वामिस्रोदपानविष्ण्वायतनाय तथो-

(७) परिलिखितनवदुर्गायतनाय च पूजासंस्कारार्थं स्वभुज्यमानजयपुराकग्रामे
व्याघ्रकर्णिकाभिधान [ह्रानमूलाकयं] ||

(८) मद्रदाकसुतदल्लकवाहितक्षेत्रं तथास्यैव क्षेत्रस्योत्तरतः क्षत्रियदेववर्म्मसुतमे-
सारकवाहितक्षेत्रं च ययोर्गोपगिरीयमा-

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* अधिकेषु *recte.*

† The first figure may be 7, Vide ante p. 354.

‡ The word संवत्सर here, at the beginning of the record and in the 11th line, is written incorrectly. The *v* has been made to coalesce with the preceding anusvara in the same way as if it were a *b*.

§ कारितं *recte.*

|| The letters within the brackets are unintelligible.

(९) घ्येनावापो यवानां द्रोणय एकादश तयोर्द्वयोरपि चेत्रयोराघाटः पूर्व्वेण नन्दाकवाह्वितचेत्रं दक्षिणेन पाह्वादत्त

(१०) पश्चिमेन दत्तकवाहितचेत्रे पादपाः ततोमम्माकवाहितचेत्रं उत्तराभिमुखवाह्नकः * चेत्रं परिधिस्तु गतः उत्तरेण वर्त्म-

(११) लघुपाह्वाटिका च एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं चेत्रद्वयं पुण्येह्नि प्रदत्तं। तथास्मिन्नेव सम्वत्सरे फाल्गुनशुक्लपक्षनवम्यां-

(१२) उपरिलिखितदेवकुलाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामपि दीयते त्मार्थं † श्रीसर्व्वेश्वरपुरनिवासितैलिकमहन्तकभोज्ञाकसुतसर्व्वस्वाक तथा माधव-

(१३) सुत-ज्यशक्ति तथा शिवधरिसुत-साङ्गल्ल तथा गग्गाकसुत-गग्गोक। तथा श्रीवत्सस्वामिपुरनिवासि तैलिकमह-

(१४) न्तककुण्ठकसुत सिंघाक तथा वल्लवसुत-खाह्वदाक तथा चच्चिकाहट्टिका निम्बादित्यहट्टिकयोर्निवासि तैलिकम-

(१५) हन्तक देउवाकसुत-जज्जट तथा वच्छिल्लाकसुत गाग्गाक तथा तट्टकसुत जम्बक तथा सट्टासुत जम्बहरि। एवमादि-

(१६) समस्ततैलिकश्रेण्या प्रतिकोल्हकं मासि मासि शुक्लनवम्यां शुक्लनवम्यां तैलपलिका पलिका दातव्येत्यक्षयनी

(१७) मया प्रदत्ता॥ तथाद्यैवामूभ्यामेव देवकुलाभ्यां श्रीगोपगिरितलोपरिनिवासिमालिकमहरगाडुल्लसुत टिक्कक

(१८) तथा देहकसुतज्यशेक तथा वजुलाकसुत सिवक तथा जम्बाकसुत सहदाक तथा दल्लिसुत दुर्गधरि तथा ननमाकेश्य-

(१९) — मक तथा — — — — — — — एवमादिसमस्तमालिकश्रेण्या पूजार्थं — — — — कालापयिकहभट्टसुयामा—

(२०) ल्यापाश — — पश — — — — प्रतिदिनं दातव्येत्यक्षयनामिका प्रदत्ता। एतदुपरिलिखित — — — — — —

(२१) स्नानादिभिस्तदक्षयायाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिकालं प्रदत्तं परि — — — नैरपि न कर्त्तव्या — तथा, स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

* The visarga after वाह्नक: is wrong.

† त्मार्थं for आत्मार्थं।

(२२) हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्ठायां क्रमिर्भूत्वा बन्ध्भिस्सह मोदते। बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य

(२३) यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ * ॥

(२४) — — — — — — — — — — —

(२५) — — — — — — — — — — —

Translations.

Om! salutation to Vishṇu. In the Samvat year nine hundred plus thirty-three, on the 2nd day* of the waxing moon, in Mágha (in figures) S 933, Mágha 2 Sudi.

To-day, this to the auspicious Lord of Gopágiri (Gapagirisvámí)*** under the supremacy of the Lord paramount S'ri Bhoja Deva, and subject to the rule of Koṭṭa-pála Malla, within the jurisdiction of Turkasthána, beyond the cantons (sabbiyákas)† Sreshṭhi Babbiyáka,‡ Ichchhuváka, Sárthaváha, and others, on the opposite bank of the Vrischikálá river (canal?) which was made (excavated)§ by Ralla son of Nakailla Bhaṭṭa, within the village of Abuya || Pallika, which is in my possession, a spot of ground, measuring in length 270 cubits of the Lord paramount (Párames'vara)¶ and in

* The case affix of *dvitiyá'yá'm* is carried over the date in figures to the beginning of the word "Adyeha."

† A non-sanskrit term apparently something like our Bengal *Zillah* or *Purgunnah*. A district to the north-west of Gwalior has the name of Sabalyook.

‡ Sresṭhi at first sight would appear to be the title of a banker, the Sett of our days, but here it is so placed that grammatically it cannot but stand for the name of a place.

§ A river cannot be said to have been made by anybody, and yet the word *Rallakṛita*, "made by Ralla," is so placed that it cannot but be taken as a predicate of the river, the name of which immediately follows it; thus *Rallakárita vrischikálá nadípara-kule.* I take the word for a canal which was probably the origin of the *Subarnariksha* or the nulla at the foot of the hills.

|| The *b*s and *v*s are written alike, I am not certain, therefore, whether the name should be Abuya or Avuya.

¶ This evidently refers to Bhoja, it may therefore be assumed that he had a special standard of linear measure.

breadth 187, is presented on this fortunate day for the purpose of a flower garden for the temple of Rudra, Rudráṇí, Pushnásá, &c., as also of the nine Durgás. Further along with this place, on the 1st day of the waxing moon, in the month of Phálguṇa of the current year, on the side of S'rí Bhoja Deva highway, made by Malla* as also Báilla Bhaṭṭa, within the village of Jayapuráka, which is in my possession, the field which passes in the name† of Dallaka, son of Sadgadáka*****‡ and named Vyághrakarṇiká, as also the field which passes in the name of Mesáraka, the son of Kshatriya Devavarmá, which is situated to the north of the field first mentioned, and which two together require for cultivation eleven *dronis*§ of barley according to the measure of Gapagiri, and have the following for their boundary, viz:—to the east the field which passes in the name of Naidáka, to the south Páhádanna,|| to the west the trees in the field which passes in the name of Dallaka, as also the field which passes in the name of Mammáka; to the north the field of Váhaka and a road across, as also Laghupáháṭiká;—these two fields thus bounded on the four sides, are presented on this auspicious day for the purpose of establishing a drinking fountain and a place of rest, as also for supplying offerings for use in the aforesaid temple of nine Durgás. Further on the 9th day of the wax-

* The subject and its predicate do not agree; the former is in the locative case, and the latter *mallenivakárita*, "made by Malla," is joined to the following word Bailla Bhaṭṭa by the conjunction *cha*. Kárita was probably written *Ka'rite*, which would make it correspond with *avata're*, but I know not what to make of the mominative Bailla Bhaṭṭa.

† The word is váhita, which I believe is equivalent to the modern form of the "jot (holding) of so and so."

‡ Here six syllables are unintelligible. The letters appear to be distinct, but they convey no sense.

§ A common *droṇi* measures 128 seers, or 256lbs. avoirdupois; the Gopagiri standard was probably different.

|| What this Páhádanna is I cannot make out.

ing moon in the month of Phálguṇa of the current year, I ordained that for the two classes of gods aforesaid and for (the good of) my soul, all the oil merchants, beginning with the following, should, month by month, on the 9th day of every waxing moon, allow for every oil press* a palá† full of oil.

(The names are) Sarves'vara, son of Bhochcháka the head oil merchant of S'rí Sarves'vara-pura; next Jayasakti, son of Mádhava; next Sáhulla, son of S'ivadhari; next Gaggika, son of Gaggáka, next Singháka; son of Kunuka the head oil merchant of S'rí Vatsasvámipura; next Khahadáka, son of Vallava; next Jajjaṭa, son of Deúváka, the head oil merchant of Chachchiká and Nimbáditya market places; Gaggáka, son of Bachchhilláka; next Jambaka, son of Daddraka; next Jambahari, son of Sadratá******.

(A similar ordination is made for the daily supply of flowers, &c. and the deed closes with the usual imprecations against the resemption of grants by the successors of the donor, but this part of the deed is so full of lacunæ that it cannot be translated.)

No. 5. From the pedestal of a Jain figure at Suhaniya.

संवत् १०१२ माघवद्युतेन महिन्द्रचन्द्रकेनकभा(खो?)दिता

No. 6. Also from the pedestal of a Jain Figure at Suhaniya.

सम्बत: । १०३४ श्रीवज्रदाममहाराजाधिराज वइसाखवदिपाचमि * * *

On the 5th of the wane in the month of Vais'ákha, Samvat 1034. Mahárája-dhirája Vajradáma (the remainder is illegible).

No. 7. From the Great Jain Temple in the Fort of Gwalior.

* The word is *Koluka*, which I believe is the archetype of the modern Hindi *Kolu*, "an oil press;" it does not occur in any Sanskrit dictionary.

† The weight of a *palá* differs from 3 tolás 3 máshás and 8 raties to eight tolás. A palá of gold or silver weighs 4 *Kárs'hás*, or tolás.

Transcipt of the left half cf the Inscription.

(1) ॐ नमः पद्मनाथाय। हर्षोत्फुल्लविलोचनैर्दिशि दिशि प्रोद्गीयमानं जनै-
र्मेदिन्यां विततन्ततो हरिहरब्रह्मास्पदानि क्रमात्। श्वेतीकृत्य यदात्मना
परिणतं श्रीपद्मभूद्यशः पायादेष जगन्ति निर्मलवपुः श्वेतानि कल्प-
स्थिरम् ॥ (१) ॥ मौलिन्यस्तमहानीलशकलः पातु वो हरिः। दर्शयन्निव
केशस्थनवजीमूतकार्षिकाम् ॥ (२) ॥ मुक्ताशैलच्छलेन क्षितिति-

(2) लकयशोराशिना निर्मितोऽयन्देवः पायादुषायाः पतिरतिधवलस्वच्छकान्ति-
र्जगन्ति। मन्वानः सर्व्वथैव त्रिभुवनविदितं श्यामतापङ्कवं यः शङ्के स्वं
वर्णचिह्नं मुकुटतटमिलन्नीलकान्त्या बिभर्त्ति ॥ (३) ॥ इदं मौलिन्यस्तं न
भवति महानीलशकलं न मुक्ताशैलेन स्फुरति घटितश्चैष

(3) भगवान्। उषाकर्णोत्तंसीकरणसुभगं नीलनलिनं वहत्यद्याप्यस्याश्चिरविरह-
पाण्डूकृततनुः ॥ (४) ॥ आसीद्वीर्यलघूकृतेन्द्रतनयो निःशेषभूमीभृतां वन्द्यः
कच्छपघातवंशतिलकः क्षौणीपतिर्लक्ष्मणः। यः कोदण्डधरः प्रजाहितकर-
श्चक्रे स्वचित्तानुगाञ्श्रामेकः पृथुवत्पृथूनपि हठादुत्पाद्य पृथ्वीभृतः ॥ (५) ॥
तस्माद्वज्रधरोपमः क्षिति-

(4) पतिः श्रीवज्रदामाभवद्दुर्वारोर्ज्जितवाहुदण्डविजिते गोपाद्रिदुर्गे युधा।
निर्व्याजम्परिभूय वैरिनगराधीशप्रतापोदयं यद्वीरव्रतसूचकः समभवत्प्रो-
द्घोषणाडिंडिमः ॥ (६) ॥ न तुलितः किल केनचिदप्यभूज्जगति भूमिभृतेति-
कुतूहलात्। तुलयतिस्म तुलापुरुषः स्वयं स्वमिह वर्षं विशुद्धहिर-
ण्मयैः ॥ (७) ॥ ततो रिपुध्वान्तसहस्रधामा नृपोभव-

(5) न्मङ्गलराजनामा। यस्तेश्वरैकप्रणतिप्रभावान्महेश्वराणाम्मृणतः सहस्रैः ॥ (८)
श्रीकीर्त्तिराजो नृपतिस्ततोभूद्यस्य प्रयाणेषु चमूसमुत्थैः। धूलीवितानैः
सममेव चित्रं मित्रस्य वैवर्ण्यमभूद्द्विपस्य ॥ (९) ॥ किं ब्रूमोस्य कथाद्भुतं
नरपतेरेतेन शौर्याग्निना धत्ते मालवभूमिपस्य समरे सङ्ग्रामतोतोर्जितः।
यस्मिन् रङ्गमुपागते दिशि दिशि त्रासा-

(6) त्कराद्दच्युतैर्भामीणाः खगहाणि कुन्दनिकरैः सञ्छादयाञ्चक्रिरे ॥ (१०) ॥
अद्भुतः सिंहपानीयनगरे येन कारितः। कीर्त्तिस्तम्भ इवाभाति प्रासादः
पार्व्वतीपतेः ॥ (११) ॥ तस्मादजायत महामतिमूलदेवः पृथ्वीपतिर्भुवनपाल
इति प्रसिद्धः। श्रीनन्दगड्गदनिन्दितचक्रवर्त्तिचिह्नैरलंकृततनुर्मनुतुल्य-

कीर्त्तिः ॥ (१२) ॥ यस्य ध्वस्तारिभूपालां सर्व्वाम्भ्याजयतः

(7) प्रभोः । भुवन्तैलोक्यमल्लस्य निःसपत्नमभूज्जगत् ॥ (१३) ॥ पत्नी देवमता तस्य हरेर्लक्ष्मीरिवाभवत् । तस्यां श्रीदेवपालोभूत्तनयस्तस्य भूपतेः । दानेन कर्णमजयत्पार्थं कोदण्डविद्यया । धर्म्मराजञ्च सत्येन स युवा विनयाश्रयः ॥ (१४) ॥ सूनुस्तस्य विशुद्धबुद्धिविभवः पुण्यैः प्रजानामभून्मान्धातेव स चक्रवर्त्तितिलकः श्रीपद्मपालः प्रभुः । यत्खाड्गेपि क-

(8) रप्रवृत्तिरपरस्तेनेव यस्मिन्नयन्दिग्यात्रासु मुक्तः खरांशुमरुणं सांद्रैश्चमूरेणुभिः ॥ (१५) ॥ हत्वान्याः स्ववशे दिशः क्रमवशात्स्य क्ष्मापतिर्दक्षिणा- नुत्क्षिप्राचलसन्निभानविरत — — — वाजिव्रजैः । उद्धूतानुपततः प — — — — — — ः संप्रेक्ष्य रेणूत्करान् भूयोप्युद्भटसेतुबन्धनधिया तस्यन्ति — — — ॥ (१६) ॥ तस्येन्द्रद्युतिसुन्दरेण यशसा नाके सुराणां गणे सौवर्ण्यभ्रमशीलखण्डन-

(9) भयाद्प्राप्नुवत्यः प्रियान् । नूनं शक्रपुरः सुरासुरवधूसङ्घाः श्रिये साम्प्रतं — — — — — — — यंति ये प्रथमतः सर्वा वपुःसंश्रिते ॥ कैर्द्रुमा — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — पादपां गावः कामदुघा — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — कैश्चिन्तितार्थप्रदाः । पूर्णाः कस्य मनोरथा ईह न कैः — — — — — — — — — सुना पूरिता वीरो यानि तदस्ति तद्गुणवतः कस्य द्रुमादीन्यपि । श्रुत्वा न पद्मन्पपतिं प-

(10) रिरक्षितारं प्राप्नोदयोपि यदसौ वत नम्रभावः ।
योद्यापि — — — — — तनुर्विपिनेष्वशो — ॥ भ्रमः कुलालचक्रे च लाभःपुण्यार्जनेषु च । काठिन्य
कुम्भेषु क — — — — — शासविमर्द्दिनीम् ॥ असम्मतो — — — — — — — — — पीडासाधुर्न निस्त्रिंशपरि — तोपि । द्र — — — ललम्नेन धनुर्न चासिं तथापि या वैरिगणं जिगाय । सद्य —

(11) — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — पाधिप शिरोमणिभि — — — — — — — — — । लोकानुरागयशसापि — — — — — प्रतापं विस्तारयां यदसि — — — — — — ॥ वलयानीव नारीणां हिमानीव नभःश्रियः ।

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — स विन्ध्यस्य नदीपूरवत्वरे सम्पदायुत्रः पूर्त्तधर्म्मे मतिं चक्रे जिष्णुरनयोः फलम् ॥ प्रजा — —त्वते

(12) न क्षितितिलकभूतं न भवनं — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — कारितमदः। — — — — — — — — — — — — — मिव गिरा यस्य शिखरं समारूढ़सिंहो नृगमिव नृ — — मर्पितुम् ॥ — — — — — — सस्य — — वरशिखरस्पर्द्धिनो हिममयूख — — — त्यावतीयं शशिकरधवला वैजयन्ती पतन्ती। निर्व्वातं भाति भूतिच्छुरितनिजतनो-र्द्द्वेवदेवस्य शम्भोः स्वर्गाङ्गङ्गेव पिङ्गस्फुटवि-

(13) कटजटाजूटमध्यं विशन्ती॥ तदेतद्ब्रह्माण्डं यदूह भविता पङ्कजभुवः पुनर्व्वयं वोढ़ाक्षो वयमिह — — वियति — —। — — — — तदिद-सुरसीकृत्य सकलं भुवं संसेवन्ते हरिपदन — — — तममी॥ — — — — — — — — — कनकाचलः शुभविद्यावन्तः स्थितः श्रीपतिर्व्विभ्राणो द्विजसत्तमानुदधिजावासो नृसिंहान्वितः। निर्म्माता स्वयंतः समस्त-विबुधैर्ल्लब्धप्रतिष्ठैरयं प्राप्नोदस्य

(14) धरातले समम्हो कल्पं हरेः कल्पताम्। — — — — — — — — — द्विजपुङ्गवैर् प्रतिष्ठितेष्वष्टर् पद्मपालः युवैव दैवप्रतिकूलभावा — — — बभूव॥ तस्य भ्राता नृपतिरभवत्सूर्य्यपालस्य सूनुः श्रीगोपाद्धैः प्रकृतविनयः श्रीमहीपालदेवः। यस्याप्यैव प्रथितयशसन्तावभूतां सनाथौ सोयं त्यागो हरिरविमुताभावदुस्योऽचिरेण। स्पृष्टिक्रूर्व्वमात्यानां विप्रा-

(15) णां स नृपस्थितिम्। प्रलयं विद्विषामासीद्ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रहरात्मकः — यत्र धामनिधौ राज्ञि पालयत्यवनीतलम्॥ ——— ——— ——— ——— सुद्वहन्ति शिरसः खलु राजहंसाः स्पृष्टास्त्वया पुनरिमाः सम-यावसन्नाः। नाथ प्रजाः सुमनसां प्रथमो — स्त्विं सिद्धवीररसता-

(16) मरसोद्भवस्य॥ लक्ष्मीपतिस्त्वमसि पङ्कजचक्रचिह्नं पाणिद्वयं वहसि भूप भुवं बिभर्षि। श्यामं वपुः प्रथयसि स्थितिहेतुरेकस्त्वं कोपि नीतिविजितो — — — — — — — — — — — सम्पालयस्यनिशमर्थिजनस्य कायं राम-श्रिया त्वमसि नाथ सु — —। सङ्कर्षणस्त्वमसि विद्विषदायुधस्त्वं त्वं कोसि सञ्चरितहालहलायुधस्य॥ ख्यातारति — — — — रूपं तवातिश —

(17) यद्विस्मयकारि देव । त्वं मीनसिंहपुरुषोत्तमसम्भवोसि कस्त्वं क्षितीश्वर-
शंकरसूदनस्य ॥ भूभृत्सुतापतिरसि द्विषतां पुराणि भेत्ता त्वमीश — —
— — — — — — — — — — म् । भूतिं दधास्यमलचन्द्रविभूषिताङ्गः
कस्त्वं सदम्बुजदिवाकर शङ्करस्य ॥ त्वं तेजसा शिखिनमिद्धमधः करोषि
शक्तिं दधासि — — — — — — — — — — । त्वन्तारकं रिपुबलं

(18) — बलाद्विहंसि कस्त्वं नवीनलनीलमलब्धजन्मा(?) ॥ त्वं वज्रभृत्त्वमसि
पक्षभिदप्यशेषं भूमीभृतां विबुधबन्धुगुरुप्रियोसि । — — — — —
दुर्गाचरणोसि कोसि त्वं भीमसाहस सहस्रविलोचनस्य । ख्यातं तवेश
बहुपुण्यजनाधिपत्यं कान्तालकावलिभिराप्ततमैः सुगुप्ता ॥ त्वामामनन्ति
परमेश्वरबद्धसख्यं त्वं कोसि सद्गुणनिधान धरा-

(19) धिपस्य । तेजोनिधिस्त्वमसि भूमिभृतः समग्राः क्रान्ताः करैः प्रयत-
सुप्रतरैस्तवेश । प्राप्तोदयः सततमर्थिजनस्य कोसि त्वं कल्पभूधर सरोरुह-
बान्धवस्य ॥ आनन्ददोसि जनतानयनोत्पलानामाप्यायिताखिलजनः कर-
मार्द्दवेन । त्वं शश्वदीश्वरशिरस्तलदत्तपादस्त्वं कोसि मर्त्यभुवनेश नि-
शाकरस्य ॥ त्वामंशमीश नि-

(20) गदन्ति मधुद्विषोमी श्यामाभिरामतनुरस्यमलप्रबोधः । पुण्यं — —
रतमिदं विहितं त्वयैव त्वं कोसि सत्यधन सत्यवतीसुतस्य । — — — —
न्ति सुरसिन्धुरियं समुद्रप्रान्तन्त्वयोन्नतिमसौ गमितः स्ववंशः । पूर्वं पवित्र
वनकैर्विहितास्त्र कोसि वंशस्थल:धपरता — भगीरथस्य ॥ एतत्त्वया कृत-
मताडकमासुधिस्त्वं व्याप्ता महीह

(21) — — रोश मनोजवैस्ते । पुण्यावतारकरणच्युतदुर्दशाद्वस्त्वं कोसि हन्त
रिपुलाघव राघवस्त्वम् । धर्मप्रसूस्त्वमसि सत्यधरस्त्वमेकस्त्वं वासुदेवचर-
णार्चनदत्तचित्तः । त्वं कोसि विप्रजनसेवितशेषभूतिः संग्रामनिष्ठुर
युधिष्ठिरपार्थिवस्य ॥ त्वं भूरिकुञ्जरबलो भुवनैकमल्ल — — — भूषित-
तनुर्नृपपावनोसि । प्रच्छन्न

Transcript of the right half of the Inscription.

(1) — — — — — — :कस्त्वं कवीन्द्रकृतमाद — कादरस्य । पकः
स्त्वमीश भुवि धर्मभृतां वरिष्ठः सत्त्वाभिकारिगुणदर्पहरस्त्वमाजौ । त्वं

सर्व्वराजपुत्रनाशिजयाप्तकीर्त्तिस्त्वं कोसि सुन्दर पुरन्दरनन्दनस्य। दुर्योधनारिबलदर्पहृतस्त्रवेश यतः पराजंनयशःप्रसरे निरोद्धुम। त्वं कोसि भूज नित — — — कर्त्तन विकर्त्तनसम्भवस्य।

(2) — — — — यस्त्वमसि कर्म गर्भीरतायास्त्वं पासि पार्थसमभूमिभृतः प्रविष्टान्। अन्तःस्थितस्तव हरिः सततं नरेश कस्त्वं विदीर्यरिपुजागर सागरस्य। — — — क्रमसमागतसत्त्ववृत्तिस्त्वं राजकुञ्जरशिरःप्रवितीर्णपादः। दीप्तारिभास्करतिरस्कृतिर्मिहिकाभूः कस्त्वं मह्वोपतिमृगाङ्क मृगाधिपस्य। दानं ददासि विकटो वत वंशशोभस्त्वं दन्तपालिकरवा-

(3) लहतारिदर्पः चोणीभृतो जयसि तुच्छतया नरेन्द्र त्वं कोसि वैरिबलदारण वारणस्य॥ सद्म श्रियस्त्वमसि मित्रकृतप्रमोदस्त्वं राजहंससमलंकृतपादमूलः। स्वामिन्नधःकृतजडोसि जनाभिरामः कस्त्वं छितात्मसुखपङ्कज पङ्कजस्य॥ सत्पत्रभूषिततनुः सुविशुद्धकोशस्त्वं चन्द्रकीर्त्तिसमलंकृतकान्तमूर्त्तिः ख्यातं तवैव कविवर्ण — — — — — — व्व श्रु हिक — —

(4) समरभैरव कैरवस्य॥ त्वं पश्यतां हरसि देव मनांसि सम्रन्सङ्कल्पभृस्त्वमसि निर्मलताभिरामः। कोसि प्रसीद बहुसद्गुणरत्नयोनिस्त्वकच्छपारिकुलभूषण भूषणस्य॥ धाता परोपकरणाय विसृष्टकायः सच्छायजन्मसमलंकृततुङ्गगोत्र। ब्रूहि — — सवनीश्वरवन्दनीयस्त्वं कोसि सूर्यन्टपनन्दन चन्दनस्य॥ — — — — नत्वाशु शुद्धहृदय प्रथितो-

(5) पमायस्त्वं जानुना च्युतनृपो न जडीकृताङ्गस्तेनास्तु नाथ हरिणोपमितिः कथं ते॥ नित्यं सन्निहिते कृपाणतमसा प्रायोभिभूयेत स त्वत्त्रासाद्भुवनैकनाथ हरिणास्तस्योदरे प्राविशन्। मूर्त्तिस्ते च कलङ्किता सजड़तां धत्ते — — — :पङ्कुर्यैर्विदितस्तथापि न्टपते राजा त्व — — — ञ्जतः — — — — — — विमुखतां पार्थेन नीताः परे व्यसिनस्तुतिरक्ष्णं न-

(6) स्वाविहिते व्यत्नायि पूर्वं किल तत्सम्यक् प्रतिभाति सम्प्रति पुनः श्रीमन्महीपालवत् त्वामालोक्य सहस्रशो रिपुबलं निघ्नन्तमेकं रणे॥ किं ब्रूमोपि — — — — — — — — — स्त्वंनोतिपात्रं परं वृत्तान्तं जगतीपतेरतिसूक्ष्मामात्मप्रियायां शृणु। कोर्त्तिर्भ्राम्यति दिक्षु — — — — — — — — किं चित्रं भुवनैकमल्ल यदि

(7) मन्दाकिनीपद्मभूलोकादुद्धृता भगीरथन्टपेणानायि निम्नां मही़म्। आ-
सूर्य्यं पुनरेतदीश यदि ते निम्नान्महीमण्डलादूर्द्ध्वं कीर्त्ति — —' —
णीकमलभूलोकं त्वया प्रापिता। चित्रं नात्र फल — — — — —
— — — — — सर्वात्मना विद्विषो विशिखैः संमूर्च्छितस्याहवे। —
— — — — — मध्ये

(8) स्थिताश्चर्यकृत्॥ अत्यंबुधिभवदुंमत्यादित्यभवन्नाहः। व्यर्तिसिंहभवत्शौर्य-
मतः केनोपमीयते॥ केयूरं बलभूपालभुजदण्डे विराजते। किरीटमिव
— — — बिभर्षि विजयश्रियः। — — — भुवनगुरोस्तोत्रमतया-
स्तदेष

(9) वैतालिकैरित्थमभिष्टुतेन संपूजितामर्त्यगुरुद्विजेन। विमुक्तकारागृहसंयतेन
विदीर्णभूताभयदक्षिणेन। तेनाभिषिक्तमालेण प्रतिजग्रे इयं स्वयम्।
पद्मनाथस्य भूसिद्धिः कन्यायाः — — —॥ — — — — —
— — यशः शरीरम्॥ स-

(10) प्रपिता ब्रह्मपुरी च तेन शेषान्विधायायनिदेवमुख्यान्। प्रवर्त्ति —
— ब्रमतन्द्रितेन स्पष्टान्नपानैरतिधार्मिकेण॥ श्रीपद्मनाथस्य सलोकनाथ
— — — — — — — — नैवेद्यपाका — — —
— — — — — — — — विला-

(11) सिनीवा — — नादिर्यथार्हतः पादकुलस्य मूर्त्तिम्। स पद्मनाथस्य
पुरः समग्रामकल्पयत्प्रेक्षणकायभूपः॥ पापाणपल्लीं प्रविभज्य सम्यग्
देवाय — — — —। सम्पादयामास तथा द्विजेभ्य — —
— — — — — — — —

(12) गतो योगीश्वरांगोद्भवः ख्यातः सूरिसलक्षणः क्षितिपतेः सर्व्वत्र विश्वास-
भूः। आधारो विनयस्य शीलभवनं भूमिः श्रुतस्याकरः स्वाध्यायस्य —
क क वसतिः — — — — — —

(13) हीपाले नटो विप्रास्तस्मिन् ग्रामे प्रतिष्ठिताः। तेषां नामानि लिख्यन्ते
विष्णुः शासनोदितः॥ देवलविधः सुधीराख्यस्ततः श्रीधरदीक्षितः॥

(14) — — — — रामेश्वरो द्विजवरस्तथा दामोदरो द्विजः। अष्टा-
दशैते विप्राश्च — — — — द्विजः। पादोनपदिका — — —

णकौतुराचकौ। द्वावङ्कपदिनावेष विप्राणां संग्रहः कृतः। — — —
— — — दर्द्धपदं न्टपः। विधाय — — — — कायस्य सूरये
देवाय दत्तः सौवर्णो राज्ञा दत्तः समार्चितम्। — — — — हरि-
एमणिमयं भूप-

(15) — — — कं ददौ। रत्नैर्विचित्रं निष्कञ्च निष्क — — — :स
भूपतिः॥ प्रा — केयूरयुगलं रत्नैर्बहुभिरार्चितम्। कङ्कणानां चतु-
ष्कञ्च महार्हमणिभूषितम्। — — — — — द्वितीय मनि —
— स्य सौवर्णं केवलं यथा। कङ्कणानाञ्चतुष्कञ्च नीलपट्टद्वयं तथा।
— — — — — लैः पंचभिर्युता। — — — धारापात्रञ्च कां

(16) — — चतुष्टयम्। सुवर्णखण्डत्रयं देवपरिवारविभूषणम्। — — —
परिच्छेमाञ्जमातपत्रीकृतं विभोः॥ निवेश्य ताम्रपट्टे च तन्मयेनैवस —
—। — — प्रतिमा नित्यं मणि — — — — राजती॥ प्रतिमा
— — का द्वितीया — — — द्युती। राज — — मयी चान्या
— — —। ताः प्रयत्नेन तिस्रोपि पूज्यते — — वेश्मनि। तत्र
ताम्रमयं देवं दीपार्थं मण्डिकाकृतम्।

(17) — — — — क। ताम्रार्घपात्रद्वितयं तथा दत्तं महीभुजा। सधूप-
दहनाः सप्त घण्टाश्चा — —। दत्ताः शङ्खाश्च सप्तैव ताम्रपात्रीचतु-
ष्टयम्। स कांस्यभाजनं प्रादाद्भूपतिः — — — — चामरं दण्ड
— — हृच्चतुष्टयं ताम्रमयं ताम्रा — —। दत्ताश्च दशतन्मयाः॥
— — देवोपकरणद्रव्याणां संग्रहः कृतः।

(18) — — — — वापीकूपतडागादि — — नानावनेषु च। दशमासं
तथा विंशत्यूर्द्धं सर्व्वत्र मण्डले। ददौ राजा नि — — यते सर्वं
प्रवर्त्तते। अयं देवालयो नाम — — स्फटिकामल — — — —
— — भारद्वाजेन मीमांसान्यायसंस्कृतबुद्धिना। कवीन्द्ररामपौत्रेण
गोविन्दकविसूनुना। कविता मणिकर्णेन सुभाषितसरस्वती। प्रशस्ति

(19) — — — — लङ्केश्वरवान् द्वितीयां विभ्रत्सूक्तां मणिकण्ठसूरैः।
पञ्चाशे चाश्विने मासे कृष्णपक्षे न्टपाज्ञया। रचिता मणिकर्णेन प्रशस्ति-
रियमुज्ज्वला॥ अङ्कतोपि ११५० ॥ आश्विनबहुलपञ्च

(20) — — — — — — — — — — —

खिलां मह्नीम्। यस्य गीर्वाणमन्त्री च मन्त्री गौरो भव — —।
प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा सद्वर्णा पद्मशिल्पिना।

(21) * * * * *

No. 8. From a S'ivite Temple in the Fort of Gwalior.

Transcript.

(१) — — — — — — — — — — —

(२) ख्याम्। तमन्वक्प्रतापावनतारिमौलिस्रगभ्यर्च्चनीयाङ्घ्रिपीठोपकण्ठः। अधिष्ठाय गोपालिकेराधिपत्ये बभौ भूमिपालो महीपालदेवः॥ प्रतीपाखिलक्षत्रियक्षोददक्षो य एकातपत्रां धरित्रीं व्यधत्त। दिशादन्तिकुम्भस्थलीशङ्खभूषां स्वकीर्त्तिन्त्रिलोकीतटान्ते न्यधत्त॥ वैवस्वतकरदण्डाक्लिष्टे पा

(३) कुमुद्वनविकाशकृद्राजा। पादानिह क्षितिभृतां दधतः शिरःसु दोषापहारपटोः सदिनश्रियश्च। धामाधिकस्य तरणेरिव दुःसहत्वं यस्यावहद्दिशि दिशि प्रसरत्प्रतापः॥ उदारसमरारम्भो दूरे सुकृते रिपून्। यस्य प्रयाणवार्त्तापि पलायनपरायणान्॥*॥ भवस्य भालाक्षकवर्त्म भेदं रुण सुपर्णालकव—

(४) :सदा गच्छतु कालयज्वा॥ श्रीमान्बभूव मथुराभिजनो विमायः कायस्थवंशविपिनाम्बुधरः प्रहृष्टः। शिष्टास्त्रिवर्गपथगामिमनोरथस्य यस्याभ्यगीषत मनोरथ इत्यभिख्याम्॥ भुवनपालनृपद्रविणव्ययागमनियोगनिबन्धनलेखनः। गणिततत्त्वसमस्तलिपिज्ञतागुणक्षतस्तवनेस्य गुरुर्लघुः॥ कान्ताङ्कका—

(५) ललिताङ्गयष्टिः। सृष्टीकृतात्मकुलशीलकलानुभावा भावानुरक्तिपरमास्मरमेव विष्णोः॥ यो मानिनां कैरवकुड्मलानां प्रह्ला * * त्तमधादिवेन्दुः। हेमाङ्गि चन्द्रश्चतुरर्णवाच्च भ्रान्तोरुकीर्त्तिस्तनयोस्य जज्ञे॥ स्मरारिपूर्वामरमूर्त्तिसुन्दरो दराक्षवेश्मप्रकरार्पितध्वजैः। मरुद्भुतैस्तर्जयदङ्गिनामघान्यचीकरत्कीर्त्तनमा—

(६) विधानेषु यतस्तदीया। शुचिस्मितोल्लासितहारकान्तिस्ततो जनैराप्तमतिर्निरूचे॥ त्रिजगद्धिततात्मयशोविसदीकृतदिक् स तयोस्तनयोभिजनो-

ज्वलसर्व्वे निजान्वयजाम्बरविः। मधुसूदन इत्यजनिष्ट विशिष्टगुणप्रणयः स्तुतयो गुरुदारगुणं प्रतिसंप्रति यं विदुषाम्॥ यशोविकाशो मधुसूदनस्य भास्वन्मयूखा

(७) चूर्य्यमाणः क्षयमापदिन्दुः॥ येन त्रिलोकजनताशयशुद्धिहेतुर्द्धर्म्मोऽपि निर्म्मलतमः क्रियतेस्म शश्वत्। तस्यावदातचरिताद्भुतदर्शनायामोजोविजृम्भितमहो यदि शारदायाः॥ कराञ्जलिपुटोद्धृतं जलमिवैष शश्वत्सुधीः समप्रजयादंगिनां प्रगलदायुरालोचयन्। स्तुतैधितशमाम्बुसंशमितरागपावाऽपि—

(८) —॥ आशासु यः शिष्टजगज्जनस्य श्रियं न्यधाद्दात्मकरावसृष्टां। जना यदीयावरजं तमाशाचन्द्रं जगुः प्रीतगुरुं सुवृत्तं॥ पतितप्रपतत्प्रपतिष्यदमर्त्त्यग्टहोद्धरणैः स्वभुजार्जितशुद्धधनव्ययबृंहितपुण्यनिधिः। यतिविप्रवरार्त्तविपन्नजनार्त्तिहरो भवनं भवनाशकरस्य हरस्य स कारयतिस्म कृती॥ विद्वद्वृन्दाम्बुजवनरविः श्रीज—

(९) — निर्ग्रंथनाथः। यः सद्भाषावितत कविताकेतुहर्म्म्यं कलानां पूर्वमेतामकृत स सुनिः श्रीयशोदेवनामा॥ मनोभवाम्बकारातिविघातकरणो भवः-दद्याद्वः सम्पदो देवो यो गजाजिनभूतिभृत्॥ श्रीविक्रमार्कन्टपकालातीतसम्वत्सराणामेकपञ्चाधिकायामेकादशशत्यां माघशुक्लपञ्चम्यां प्रतिष्ठाभूत्॥

Translation.

(Line 1st is not decypherable. The second has two s'lokas in the Bhujangaprayáta meter and the first eleven syllables of another in a different meter). Next came the protector of earth, Mahipála Deva, who established himself in his dominion along with the Gopálikas. His valour had caused the heads of his enemies to incline, whereby garlands had dropt from them in respectful offering before his footstool—(?) Proficient in destroying hosts of inimical Kshatriyas, he placed the earth under one royal umbrella. He spread (the glory of) his deeds to the extreme verge of the three regions, and placed it as a shell ornament* on the temples of the elephants which guard the (ten) quarters of space.

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* In allusion to the ornament of cowries with which elephants' heads are generally decorated.

(3rd line, after eleven syllables a verse each in the Vansantatilaka and the Anushṭup meters). His wide-spread majesty, like the rays of the sun, proved insufferable on every side, of him whose feet rested on the heads of royalty—the remover of vice.* His enemies (—) fly far from the ardour of his commencing warfare—even the news of his approach drives them away to a distance. (Here 19 syllables in the Upendravajra meter missing).

(4th line, after nine syllables one s'loka each in the Indravajra and the Drutavilambita meters). The auspicious was born, he whose family was in Mathurá, the disinterested, the cherisher of Káyasthas.† Feeling delighted, all good people named him Manoratha‡ for verily his mind was directed to the path which leads to the three-fold enjoyment of virtue, wealth and pleasure. All the resources of arithmetic and rhetoric fail to those who attempt to write in praise of the income and expenses of King Bhuvanapála—(four syllables unintelligible).

(5th line, after six syllables the second half and a full s'loka in the Indravajra meter and one in the Vañsasthavila). Like Ramá, wife of Vishṇu, she was great in love and affection, and had made her race, morals, and accomplishments manifest by her conduct. Unto him was born by her a son renowned for noble deeds, who made the bud of desire of the respected to blossom, who like the moon to the four oceans— ?

The waving of the flag on the top of his palace of

* *Dosha* in Sanskrit, which in the case of the king means vice, and in that of the sun, night; as one removes night so does the other the vices of mankind.

† Lit. The rain-bearing cloud to the forest of Káyasthas. It is remarkable that he should have selected the Káyasthas for his special care.

‡ There is a play upon the word Manoratha (desire or the object of desire) which cannot be reproduced in English, and consequently the reason of the prince's being called by that name, does not become apparent.

beautiful white and black marble* seemed to fan away the vices of mankind—(two syllables wanting to complete the verse).

(6th line, after nine syallables the latter half of a Upendra-vajra s'loka and a s'loka of 18 syllables to the foot.) His gentle and pure smile added to the lustre of his brilliant necklace—?

His fame which pervaded all the three regions of the universe had enlightened all quarters. A son Madhusúdana, who was like a sun to the bright lotus of his race, was born. He was familiar with all great merits. Unto him of great and noble qualities, who was eulogized by the learned—(16 syllables unintelligible).

(7th line, after ten syllables two s'lokas, one in the Vasantatilaka and the other in the Pṛithví measures). By whom religion was purified for ever, that religion which ennobles the mind everywhere in the three regions. Her powers would fail her were even Sáradá† to attempt describing his pure and wonderful disposition. That wise king considering the life of mankind to be as unstable as water held in the palm of the hand—

(8th line, one s'loka in the Indravajra and one in the Toṭaka). He placed wealth earned by his own hands for the gratification of the good people of the earth. Therefore did mankind say that the great full-moon of gratification was born of him. His treasure of virtue daily increased by his devoting his purely earned wealth to the preservation of falling or prostrate temples, or such as might in future be destroyed for want of care. He removed the sufferings of yatis, Bráhmaṇas, and of men diseased or in misfortune; he also built a temple to Hara the destroyer of the world—(12 syllables unintelligible).

* Of the colour of the enemy of Cupid, *i. e.*, Mahádeva who is white, and that of Purvámara or demons, *i. e.*, black.

† The goddess of poetry.

(9th line, after five syllables, the second half of a s'loka in the Mandákrántá, a s'loka in the Anushtup and the date in prose). The saint, who was like unto a flag-emblazoned store-house of sweet and poetical language, and who composed this most excellent eulogy, is named S'rí Jas'odeva. May the god Bhava (S'iva), the destroyer of enemies, the mind-born* and Andhaka,† who dresses himself in elephant hide and ashes, bestow on you wealth! This was dedicated in the year of King Vikramárka, sixty-one plus eleven hundred, in the month of Mágha, the sixth day of the waxing moon.

Nos. 9 and 10 not given me by General Cunningham.

No. 11. Teli Mandir, Fort of Gwalior.

ॐ नमः ॥ वे * श्रीघकरेन्द्रवलतदिढभुज चक्रेखलखासे

No. 12. Teli Mandir, Fort of Gwalior.

ना वीष्हवय
नागवींह्स्य

No. 13. Teli Mandir, Fort of Gwalior.

श्रीघकर देवजवर्व्व

No. 14. not given me by General Cunningham.

No. 15. From the Temple of Ambiká Deví at Suhaniya

ॐ सिद्धिः संवत् १४६७ वर्षे मागसुदि ५ सो, दिनं ॥ महाराजाधिराज श्रीवोलङ्कदेवः। श्रीत्तोयिं काकौमनपुकर वाशौः। प्रधान — जनार्द्दनः। भुजदासुर ा — — ज — । स्तल यारदान वाभुः। माढा पेति — — — ॥—

-Prosperity! On the 5th day of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1467. Mahárájádhirája Bilanga Deva—(the remainder unintelligible). General Cunningham reads the name, Virama.

No. 16. From the foot of a colossal figure at Chaitnath, Suhaniya.

ॐः ॥ सिद्धि। सन्तु १४६७ वर्षे वैशाखसुदि १५ दि — न सौ — मद्यावे

* The Hindu Eros, Manobhava. † A giant of that name.

वे र — — — करा ब्रह्मभूता मर — गत्या र — आदि अखण्ड ढा — — औख — क — सुत — रिता सु ठे ढ — व —

May prosperity attend (on all), on Sunday the full-moon of Vais'ákha, Samvat 1467. (The rest unintelligible.)

No. 17. From the great temple at Suhaniya, on pillars.

स्वंविवत्तदासण — ॥ ऐ — सिधि संवत् १४६७ वैशाखसु ६ रवौ श्रीडुंगरे — न्द्रप: साधनोपुत्र सद्याट सुकुलनल पुरण्ढ वासूव्याककल पुरु दष ॥ ॐ । ऐ ॥ ह

द्या — कापालागतु श्रीपलिघटसुततिड:

On Sunday, the 9th of the waxing moon, in the month of Vais'akha, Samvat 1497. During the reign of the king Dungrendra Deva—(The rest illegible).

No. 18. Pedestal of a colossal figure of Ádinátha at Gwalior.

श्रीआदिनाथाय नम: ॥ संवत् १४६७ वर्षे वैशाख — — ७ शुक्रे पुनर्वसुनक्षत्र श्रीगोपाचलदुर्गे महाराजाधिराजराजा श्रीडुंग — — — — — संवर्त्तमानो श्रीकाष्ठीसंघे मायूरान्वयो पुष्करगणभट्टारक श्रीगणकीर्त्ति देव तत्पदे यत्य: कीर्त्तिदेवा प्रतिष्ठाचार्य श्रीपंडितरघूतेपं। आम्नाये अग्रोतवंशे मोद्गलगोत्रा सा ॥ धुराता तस्य पुत्र साधुभोपा, तस्य भार्या नाक्षी। पुत्र प्रथम साधुच्चेमसी द्वितीय साधुमहाराजा तृतीय असराज चतुर्थ धनपाल पञ्चम साधुपाल्का। साधुच्चेमसी भार्या नोरादेवी पुत्र — ज्येष्ठपुत्र भषायि पतिकौल ॥ भ — भार्याच ज्येष्ठस्रो सरसुती पत्रमल्लिदास द्वितीय भार्या साध्वीसरा पुत्र चन्द्रपाल। चेमसीपुत्र द्वितीय साधु श्रीभोजराजा भार्यी देवस्य पुत्र पूर्णपाल ॥ एतेषां मध्ये श्री ॥ त्यादिजिनसंघाधिपति काला सदा प्रणमति ॥

Salutation to Ádinátha. On the 7th of the waxing moon, when she was in the mansion of Punarvasu, in the month of Vais'ákha, Samvat 1497, when the Mahárájádhirájá Dungarendra Deva reigned in the fort of Gopáchala. The saint Guṇakírti Deva, of the congregation of Kánchi and of

the race of Magura, who belonged to the class (gaṇa) of Pushkara, was succeeded by Kírti Deva, next the respected priest Paṇḍit S'rí Raghu, next Paṇḍit S'rí Bháyá of pure soul, who belonged to the race of Agrota, and the clan (gotra) of Modgala. His son was *Sádhu* Bhopá, whose wife was Nanhí, whose first son was *Sádhu* Kshemsí, second son *Sádhu* Mahárájá, third Asarájá, fourth Dhanapála and fifth *Sádhu* Pálka. The wife of *Sádhu* Kshemsí was Norá Deví, of whose sons the eldest was Bhagáyí, whose son was Kaulabha. The eldest wife of the latter was Sarasvatí by whom he had Mallidása. His second wife was Sádhhyes'vará or the faithful (Sáddhí) S'vará, whose eldest son was Chandrapála. The second son of Kshemsí was *Sádhu* S'rí Bhojarája. The son of Bháya Deva was Púrṇapála. Among these Kálá the head of the congregation of Ádi Jina, offers constant salutation.*

(१) सिद्धि संवत् १५१० वर्षे माघसुदि ८ (श्र) ष्टमै (स्यां। श्रीगोपगिरौ महारा-
जाधिराजरा-

(२) जा श्रीडंगरेन्द्रदेवराज्यप्र — — श्रीकाष्ठीसंघेमायूरान्वये भट्टारक श्री

(३) क्षेमकीर्त्तिदेवस्तत्पदे श्रीहेमकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पदे श्रीविमलकीर्त्तिदेवाः — —

(४) ण्डिता — — सदाम्नाये अग्रोतवंशे गर्गगोत्रेसा — — — त

(५) योः पुत्रा ये दयाय श्रीचंद भार्या मालाही तस्य प्रवसा० षेषार रा —
जीसा — — — दु

(६) तीयसा० हरिचंदभार्या जसोधर ह्वितये — — — — — — पासीसा०
सधासा० त्रती

(७) यहेमा चतुर्थसा० रतोपुत्रसा० सह सापं — सु सा० धं — सा०
सल्हापुत्रश्चेसेवं ए

(८) तेषां मध्ये साधु श्रीचंद्रपुत्र प्रेमा तथा हरिचंद्रदेवकी
भार्या — —

* I am very doubtful about the accuracy of this translation. The name Kálá is most probably incorrect. I publish this only as tentative.

(९) दीपमुखा नित्यं श्रीमहावीरप्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूरिभक्त्या प्रणमंति ॥

(१०) अङ्गुष्ठमात्रां प्रतिमां जिनस्य भक्त्या प्रतिष्ठापयतो महत्या। फलं बलं राज्य-

(११) मनन्तसौख्यं भवस्य विच्छित्तिरथो विमुक्तिः ॥ शुभं भवतु सर्वेषां ॥:

On the 8th of the waxing moon, in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1510, in the reign of the supreme lord of great kings, king S'rí Dungarendra Deva, High Priest (Bhattárka) S'rí Kshemakírti Deva of the congregation of Kánchí and of the race (gotra) of Máyura, next his successor, Hemakírti Deva, and next his successor Amalakirti Deva. (The remainder illegible.)

XVIII.

BHOJA RÁJÁ OF DHÁR AND HIS HOMONYMS.

The name Bhoja borne by many princes. Mention of it in the Rig Vida Saṅhitá. In the Mahábhárata. Wilford's Bhoja, a vassal of Jarásandha. Ditto a relative of Krishṇa, who competed for the hand of Draupadí. Bhoja of the Orissan chronicles. Bhoja of Bhánumatí. Three Bhojas of Bengal named in Père Tieffenthaler's list. Col. Tod's Bhoja of the 5th century: of the 7th century. Jain Bhoja of Mount Abu. Do. of, and cited by Kshírasvámí—not a king. Do. of the Bhoja-prabandha. Do. of Gwalior, Do. of Kanauj. Do. of Pehewá. Traditional history of Bhoja of Dhárá. Account of Munja. Nágapur inscription. Successors of Bhoja. Madhukargarh inscription. Bhoja's date.

THE name of Bhoja Pramára is the most celebrated in the annals of India. It stands pre-eminent as that of a glorious sovereign, a distinguished author, and a noble patron of learning; and our poetry, our romances and our nursery tales have alike selected it as the theme of their laudations. It is remarkable, however, that little seems to be known of the identity of the individual who gave it such greatness. "While Hindu literature survives," said Col. Tod, "the name of Bhoja Pramára and the 'nine gems' of his court cannot perish," and yet at the time the learned historian of the Rájputs had three claimants before him, every one of whom asserted his right to the glories of the Bhoja Pramára, and he was obliged to admit "that it is difficult to say which of the three princes was the greatest, as they all appear to have been distinguished patrons of science and literature." Since his time, the researches of Indian antiquarians have brought to light more than a dozen princes who have, at

different times, borne that illustrious name, but whose history is shrouded in mystery, which legendary tales, in the absence of authentic evidence, cannot solve. It may not be uninteresting, therefore, to ascertain and bring together the sum of our knowledge regarding the several monarchs of the name of Bhoja that have been noticed from time to time. It might, to some extent, help to remove a prolific source of error to many hasty antiquarians who frequently jump to conclusions regarding the age of undated—and not rarely of dated—inscriptions from the mere circumstance of the word Bhoja occurring in them.

The derivation of the word may be traced to the root *bhuj*—'to enjoy,' and in that sense it has been used by the Bráhmaṇs from the remotest antiquity. In the third book of the Ṛig Veda Sañhitá (Chap. III. Varga 20, verse 7) it occurs for the first time as a generic term* to indicate the sacrifice-loving Kshatriya sons of Sudása, which fact argues the likelihood of some one of them having borne that word as his specific name. Subsequently we find it in the Mahábhárata,† many centuries before the commencement of the Christain era, as a generic name for the sons of Drahya. It is also given as the specific name of a king who was the foster father of Kuntí, the mother of the renowned Páṇḍavas. He was a cousin (father's sister's son) of S'ura, and generally known by the name of Kuntí Bhoja. S'ura, was the father of Vasudeva and Prithá; and the latter when made over to her cousin german assumed the name of Kuntí.

Immediately after him we meet with a Bhoja in Col. Wilford's "Essay on the sacred Isles in the West."‡ who was

* The words are *Ime Bhojá áñgiraso virúpá*, which Sáyaṇa explains by *Ime jágam kurváṇáh Bhojáh saudásáh kshatriyáh teshám yájakáh virúpá na'na' rúpa Medha'tiihi prithitayo angirasas cha.* Max Müller's ed., Vol. II., p. 928.

† A'di Parva, chapter III., Vol. I., p. 161, Calcutta edition.

‡ Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI., p. 82.

a vassal of Jarásandha. He invited the Magas to his dominion on the banks of the Ganges, and gave his daughter to one of them, from whom descended the eighteen families of the Bhojakas. I cannot, however, find any mention of this prince in the *Sámba Puráṇa* to which the Colonel refers his readers, and feel disposed, therefore, to attribute his origin to the imagination of the Colonel's Paṇḍits. His contemporaneity to Jarásandha would make him a contemporary of Vasudeva and Páṇḍu, and consequently of Kuntí Bhoja, with whom he was most probably indentical. His country is called '*Karac desa.*'

The Colonel has a second prince of this name* who was a relative and friend of Kṛishṇa and chief of the town of Bhojapura. This must have been either Kuntí Bhoja himself, who was a cousin of Kṛishṇa's father, or a descendant of his who assumed the patronymic of Bhoja. I feel disposed to take the latter branch of the alternative, as in the Mahábhárata† a Bhoja of Bhojapura in Behar, not Kuntí Bhoja, appears in the company of As'vatthámá as a rival of the Páṇḍava brothers for the hand of Draupadí, which would scarcely be probable in the case of Kuntí Bhoja himself, the maternal grandfather of those Páṇḍavas. The dominions of all the three are placed on the banks of the Ganges in Magadha, or its neighbourhood. The capital of the last, *Mṛittikávatí*, was situated on the river Karmanásá, which Wilson supposed to be near modern Bhojpur.

The Raghuvaṅsa names a Bhoja as a member of the Solar race and sovereign of Oudh.

Next to these we come to a Bhoja Rájá who is made to reign 127 years from about B. C. 180 to B. C. 53. He was, according to the Orissan chronicles, "a brave, liberal, just

* Loc. cit.

† A'di Parva, Vol. II. p. 253, v. 6986.

अश्वत्थामा च भोजश्च सर्व्वशस्त्रभृतांवरौ।

and merciful prince. His court was adorned by the presence of 750 eminent poets, the chief of whom was Kálidása, author of the 752 s'lokas called the *Chának* or *Chátaka* and *Mahá Náṭaka*. This Rájá Bhoja invented boats, the weaver's loom, and wheeled carriages, or at least in his time the use of them first became common. In this reign the Yavanas from Sindhu Desa invaded the country in great force, but Bhoja discomfited and destroyed them, and afterwards captured many of their possessions and cities. He was followed by Vikramáditya who was either a brother, or a son, of his."* The bungling here of a Bhoja before Vikramáditya of the Samvat era, of Vikramáditya himself, and of the Bhoja of the 10th century, is self-evident, and needs no comment. A Bengali romance named *Bhánumatí* makes a Bhoja the father-in-law of Vikrama.

No monumental evidence exists of any of these five princes, and they are interesting only as affording a strong proof in favour of the antiquity of their name. The last two, namely, those of the Orissan chronicles and of *Bhánumatí* appear to be entirely mythical. I may say the same of three sovereigns of Bengal whose names occur in Père Teiffenthaler's history of Orissa.† Two of them, viz., Rájá Bhoja with a reign of 75 years, and Samat Bhoja with a reign of 48, are said to have belonged to the family of Gor, and the last, Rájá Bhoja, of a Káyastha family, who reigned 70 years, was the third in descent from Prctáparudra.‡ Their names are so mixed up with those of the kings of Orissa, and so overcast by a misty atmosphere of fable, that they can claim no attention from the sober historian. Most of the reigns

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* Sterling's History of Cuttack, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., p. 259.

† Description historique et geographique de l' Inde, Vol. I., p. 472.

‡ Sterling's list has (1) Prataparudra (1502 A. C.), (2,) Govinda Rao (1524), (3,) Narasiñha Janna, (1539), (4,) Mukunda Deo, (1550).

given by the Reverend Missionary, range from 70 to 108 years.

Passing them over we come to the first Bhoja whose era may be ascertained with some certainty. Col. Tod, following a Jain manuscript,* says that he flourished about the end of the sixth century, S. 631 = A. D. 575. He was a sovereign of the Pramára race, and had Málava for his dominion. Abbé Bertrand,† following Mir Ali Afsos, makes a Bhoja ascend the throne of Málava 542 years after Vikramáditya, which would give us a Bhoja a century before this sovereign; and Teiffenthaler gives another 426‡ years after Vikrama, both of whom are probably the same with the first prince of Tod, misplaced by blundering chroniclers. Prinsep,§ following the Ayin-i Akbary, places Bhoja the successor of Munja at the end of the 5th century, (483) whom he identified with the first Bhoja of Tod.

The next Bhoja of the Colonel's list lived in Samvat 721 = A. C. 665. According to the Aitpur inscription,|| a Bhoja was the son of Goháditya and the seventh ancestor in a direct line from a sovereign of the name of Kála Bhoja, "a hero resplendent as the sun," who was followed, after eight successive generations, by a S'aktikumára, who flourished in the Samvat year 1034 (16th of Bysákha) = A. D. 978. Col. Tod assumes the first of these two to be identical with his second Bhoja. Now, ascending from Saktikumára, if we allow eighteen years to each reign,¶ Kála Bhoja would be

* Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I., p. 800.

† Journal Asiatique, Mai 1844, p. 354.

‡ Description historique et geographique de l'Inde, Vol. I., p. 1.

§ Thomas's Prinsep, Vol. II., p. 250.

|| Tod's History of Rajasthan, Vol. I., p. 802.

¶ The genealogy of the fifteen princes of this line runs as follows: 1, Goháditya; 2, Bhoja; 3, Mahendra; 4, Nága; 5, Syeela, (Sailya?) 6, Aparájita; 7, Mahendra; 8, Kála Bhoja; 9, Khoman; 10, Bhirtripada; 11, Singji; 12, Sri Ullut (whose daughter's son) 13, Nirváhana; 14, Sáliváhana; 15, Sakti Kumára.

placed in the middle of the 9th century (A. D. 834) and Bhoja in the early part of the 8th century (A. D. 708) instead of the middle of the seventh agreeably to the Jain date. This discrepancy, however, may be reconciled if we allow the first Bhoja a reign of a little more than forty-three years from A. D. 665 to 708, or a little longer than an ordinary reign to one of his successors. It is probably this prince who is described as the elder or Vṛiddha Bhoja at whose instance Vána, the poet, propitiated the sun by a poem of great merit the *Súryas'ataka*, and rid himself of leprosy ; and it is possibly to him we owe the treatise on rhetoric entitled *Sarasvatí-kaṇṭhábharaṇa*, and one or two other works which pass in the name of a Bhoja Rájá.* He was the contemporary of Mánatungas'uri and of Maura, the poet. If he be admitted to have been the patron of Vána, it would require little proof to shew that he was a great patron of learned men, and was surrounded by a number of poets and literati, and that without pledging our faith to the apocryphal five hundred scholars of his court. Our information, however, regarding Vṛiddha Bhoja is yet so meagre and unsatisfactory that it would be unwarrantable to assume, farther than as a mere conjecture, his identity with the second Bhoja of Col. Tod. The expression Vṛiddha (old) would suit the first Bhoja best, but the date of Vána would not justify the assignment. The Bhoja and Kála Bhoja of the Aitpura record have their counterparts in an inscription from Mount Abu, noticed by Professor Wilson, but instead of being nine generations removed from each other, there they appear as father and son. Judging from this circumstance and the fact of the names of their ancestors for two generations and of their successors for twenty generations being different throughout, we have no hesitation in taking them to be quite distinct. They were Jains and

* Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. p. 22.

belonged to the solar race of Mewar.* The last of the roll lived in A. D. 1286, which with the usual allowance of eighteen years to each reign would place Bhoja in the beginning of the tenth century (A. D. 908).

Kshírasvámí, of Káshmír (A. D. 772), cites a Bhoja as the author of a vocabulary and a grammar,† but the editor of the Vásavadattá "does not feel it necessary to believe that in every instance Bhoja is the name of a king," and I am disposed to side with him.

The third Bhoja of Col. Tod's list is the hero of the *Bhoja-prabandha* and sovereign of Dhárá. Before I notice him it is necessary, for the sake of chronological order, to record the names of two sovereigns of Kanauj and one of Pehewá. The first two occur in a copper plate inscription‡ found by the late Col. Stacy, a counterpart of which has lately been found by Mr. Cosserat at Sáran. Col. Stacy's inscription bears date the 65 (?) of Vais'ákha of a local era, and records the grant of a village named Ṭikkarika, which was situated on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite Benares. The donor's name is Vináyakapála. His ancestors, who begin their genealogical tree with a Devas'akti, include a Bhoja son of Rámabhadra, and another son (?) of Mahendrapála. In a paper entitled "Vestiges of three Royal Lines of Kányakubja or Kanouj," § allusion has been made to a huge inscription at Gwalior which has the name of a Mahendrapála with the date 960 close by it, then a Bhoja,

* *Asiatic Researches*, XVI. p. 291 et seq. The names are—1, Bappáka, 2, Gohila, 3, Bhoja, 4, Kála Bhoja, 5, Bhartribhatta, 6, Samahayika, 7, Khummána. 8, Allata, 9, Naraváhana, 10, Sakti——? 11, Suchivarma, 12, Naravarma, 13, Kirtivarma, 14, Vairi Siñha, 15, Vijaya Siñha, 16, Ari Siñha, 17, Vikrama Siñha, 18, Samat Siñha, 9, Kumára Siñha, 20, Mathana Siñha, 21, Padma Siñha, 22, Jaita Siñha, 23, Teja Siñha, 24, Samara Siñha.

† Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II., p. 290.

‡ Vide my translation of this record, Journal, A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 71.

§ Journal, A. S., Vol. XXXI., p. 6.

and then again a Mahendrapála with the date 964 after it. The transcript from which this information has been gleaned is described to be "full of breaks, the very perfection of all that is unintelligible, and the result of laborious infidelity in which the copyist had in patches by the dozen altered as many as eight or ten consecutive letters." A transcript from a fascimile from this record has been given in the article on the 'Vestiges of the kings of Gwalior.' If my reading of the date of the Sáran plate, which I offer as a mere conjecture, be correct, the dates of the Devas'akti's descendants at eighteen years each reign would be:—

1 Devas'akti,	A. D.	779
2 Vatsarája,	"	791
3 Nágabhaṭṭa,	"	814
4 Rámabhadra,	"	832
5 Bhoja,	"	850
6 Mahendrapála,	"	868
7 Bhoja,	"	885
8 Vináyaka pála,	"	900

Should the data upon which my dates are founded be not deemed satisfactory, and the dates therefore not acceptable, still the Bhojas of Devas'akti's dynasty will not be confounded with the great sovereign of Dhárá. When Professor Wilson wrote his paper on the history of Káshmír, he knew of only one Bhoja between the tenth and the eleventh centuries, and he accordingly made S'ankaravarma of Káshmír, in the beginning of the tenth century, (904 to 920) subvert the extensive empire of the sovereign of Dhárá, and solved the anachronism which this involved by stating that "we need not expect, however, extreme accuracy in this matter, and may rest satisfied with considering it as an approximation to the truth, and generally as an additional testimony of Bhoja's having flourished early in the tenth century." Had he the Stacy record before him he would have

found two names of an era which would have completely obviated his anachronism.

The second of these princes I accept, on the authority of General Cunningham, to have been identical with the sovereign named in an inscription on a Vaishṇavite temple at Gwalior. He is described as a "Lord paramount" who flourished in A. D. 876. His genealogy is not given, but the date of his reign and the fact that the sovereigns of Kanauj about that time did exercise paramount power over Gwalior, justify the assumption.*

The Bhoja of Pehewá occurs in an inscription recorded on the side of a temple in a village on the banks of the Sarasvatí, fifteen miles west of Thánes'var.† The record is very imperfect, having many lacunæ and large breaks at the beginning and end of every line, but from what remains a list of ten names have been made out. These are—

I. Mahendra-pála.
II. Jaṭula.
III. ? (illegible).
IV. Vajraṭa.
V. Yájṇika.
VI. Sogga.
VII. Púrṇa.
VIII. Devarája.
IX. Rámabhadra.
X. Bhoja.

General Cunningham says there are two inscriptions, and they together give the above total of ten names, of which the last two are in one record, and the rest in another. The date of the last king on the inscription is apparently Samvat 279. The facsimile where it is given, happens to be

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* Vestiges of the Kings of Gwalior, *ante*, p. 353.

† See my note on an inscription from Thaneshwar, Journal, A. S. Vol. XXII. p. 673.

perfectly clear, and the letters are so well formed that I had no doubt whatever about the reading. But the circumstance of a Bhoja at so early a date misled me as to his identity, and those who afterwards attempted to correct me were equally misled. The discussions which followed were long and a good deal complicated by assumptions which were not tenable. General Cunningham, has, however, since set them at rest. He reads the date to be Samvat 276, and taking the Samvat to be that of S'ríhtarsha, of Kanauj, which began in A. D. 607, makes the date of the inscription to be A. D. 882.

He then observes: "now at this very time we know that a Rájá Bhoja Deva was paramount sovereign of Gwalior, as his inscription, carved on the rock itself, is dated in Samvat 933 or A. D. 876. From the Rájatarangini also we learn that a Rájá Bhoja contended with Sankaravarmma, of Káshmír, who reigned between the years 883—901 A. D. I am quite satisfied that all these records refer to the same prince, Bhoja Deva, who was Rájá of Kanauj during the last quarter of the 9th century, or from about A. D, 875 to 900."* The identification makes the prince named in the Pehewá, the Gwalior, the Sáran and the Benares records to be the same with that of Kanauj noticed on the Rájatarangini, and I accept it as obviously correct.

The last sovereign on my list is the great Bhoja of Dhár.† According to the legendary accounts of the *Bhoja-prabandha*, the *Bhoja-champu*, and the *Bhoja-charita*, he was the son of Sindhula, the grandson of Sindhu, and the immediate successor of Munja. His country, Málava, was an ancient and renowned seat of learning, and his people were noted for their refined manners and high civilization. Hiouen-Thsang, who visited the place in the seventh century, says "les habitants

* Journal A. S., Vol. XXXIII., p. 230.

† The *Rája-mártanda* gives Ranarangamalla as an *alias* of this Bhoja.

des province sont d'un caractère douz et poli, et ils aiment et estiment la culture des lettres. Dans les cinq parties de l'Inde, * * * ce pays et celui de Magadha, sont les deux seuls royaumes dont les habitants se fassent remarquer par l'amour de l'étude, l'estime pour la vertu, la facilité de l'élocution, et l'harmonie du langage." * Kálidása, at a much earlier date, sang of its glories in more than one of his immortal works.

Munja, according to Vallála,† the author of the *Bhoja-prabandha*, was the younger brother of Sindhula who bestowed the kingdom upon him in supercession of his son, who was then only five years old and utterly incompetent to assume the cares of state. The *Bhoja-charita* contradicts this statement, and makes Munja a foundling, who was brought home by Sindhu to be nursed by his wife Padmávati. Sindhu, says the fabler, was out on a hunting expedition, and, when alone on the bank of a river, found on a tuft of Munja grass (*Saccharum munja*, Rox.) a new-born babe, which he brought home and reared up under the name of Munja. The two biographers agree in giving Bhoja a long and prosperous reign of fifty-five years, seven months and three days, interrupted only for a short period when a *jogi* or mendicant, under pretence of teaching him the art of transferring one's soul from one body to another, sent the king's soul to animate the body of a parrot, and himself entered the king's body and reigned in his stead. An accident enabled Bhoja, through the intervention of Chandrasená, of Chandrávatí, to regain his mortal coil from the usurper. The story is obviously intended to euphemise the historical fact of Bhoja having been defeated and expelled from his kingdom by a Chálukya king of the name of Somes'vara. Somes'vara reigned between 1040 to 1049, and it

* Histoire de la Vie et des Voyages de Hiouen Thsang, p. 204.

† Vallabha Paṇḍit according to some MSS. His time has been supposed to have been A. D. 1340. M. M. Pavie has published a translation of this work in the *Journal Asiatique* for March, April, 1844, pp. 184, *et seq.*

must have been between those years that Bhoja lived a fugitive. He died a natural death, leaving his kingdom to his adopted son Gajánanda.* The latter was childless, and with him, therefore, ended the glory of the Pramára race at Dhár. Chaitan Pála, a great zemindar of the Tuar lineage, was elected the successor of Gajánanda, and his descendants reigned in Dhár for 214 years.

With the exception of the period of Bhoja's reign, the whole of these statements have been questioned. The story of Munja's birth is purely mythical, designed more to account for the origin of his uncommon name than to narrate sober facts. Professor Lassen† is of opinion that Munja was really the uncle of Bhoja, and that he came to the throne by usurpation when his brother Sindhula, or whatever else was his name, was away from his capital on an expedition to the South. This may be to some extent inferred from the story which says that once when an astrologer foretold that Munja would take the kingdom from his brother, Sindhula ordered Munja to be beheaded, and, subsequently, repenting of his rash command, made his sceptre over to him, and retired to the South to found a kingdom of his own. The story of the *jogi* and his metempsychosis may, likewise, be set down to pure invention, or a poetical euphemism, as stated above, for an invasion from the south, which compelled Bhoja to fly from his kingdom for a time; and the accounts of his death and successors have been controverted by the testimony of authentic inscriptions recorded by his descendants.

The parentage of Bhoja, as given by his biographers, has the support of an inscription found by Col. Tod at Madhukarghar in Harauti;‡ but it differs from the biographers

* The name has been differently given in different places.

† Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VII. p. 345.

‡ Transact. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 226. It records the names of Sindhu, Sindhula, Bhoja, Udayáditya and Naravarma.

in giving the succession of Bhoja to a relative, Udayáditya, whose descendants occupied the throne of Dhár for several generations.

A second inscription from a temple on the west bank of Weyne Gangá near Nágpur, decyphered by Paṇḍit Ball Gangádhar Shástrí, of Bombay,* gives a different genealogy. According to it, the founder of Bhoja's family was a Vairisiṁha of the Pramára race, who was followed by his son Bhímaka. Bhímaka was succeeded by Rája Rája or Bhoja Rája, and he by his younger brother Bhadra Rája. Bhadra was the father of Bhoja Rája, and Bhoja left the kingdom to his son Udayáditya, whose son, Naravarmadeva, recorded the inscription. To reconcile this statement with that of the Madhukarghar monument was found impracticable, and it was accordingly suggested that the latter may be cast overboard, as well as the *Bhoja-prabandha* and the *Bhoja-charita*, inasmuch as we possess but a very imperfect paraphrase of it, and that prepared by an untrustworthy interpreter. The interpretation of the Nágpur record, however, has since been found to be even more untrustworthy than the paraphrase of Col. Tod's paṇḍits, and its roll of names to be in more than one instance quite illusory. This was pointed out by Professor Lassen in his notice of a copper-plate inscription brought from Sattárá and decyphered by him.†

The legend of the copper-plate is, allowance being made for the Shástri's errors, an exact counterpart of the stone tablet at Nágpur, and hence it has been supposed that the plate had been originally deposited in the same temple upon the portico of which the stone is affixed, and that it was subsequently removed to Sattárá, most probably by the Marhaṭṭás, though the when and the why cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained. No facsimile of the document has

* Journal Bombay B. R. A. Society, No. VI. p. 259.

† Zeitscrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VII. p. 194.

yet been published, but from the satisfactory state of preservation of the original and the scrupulous care with which the Professor has examined it letter by letter, there can be no question as to its authenticity, or of the general accuracy of its interpretation.

It opens with a salutation to Sarasvatí, and after recounting the origin of the Pramára race, states that in it was born a king of the name of Vairisiñha, "who ruled the earth, shaming Indra in heaven by his prosperity." His son and successor Siyaka had two children, Munja and Siñharája, of whom Munja the eldest succeeded his father. How Munja died, the record explains not, but after describing the might and heroism of his brother Siñharája, makes his son Bhoja Rája assume the sovereignty. This Bhoja* is no doubt the great king of the *Bhoja-prabandha*, but his panegyrist has nothing to record of him besides a few unmeaning platitudes about great victories, unrivalled heroism, and so forth. No mention whatever is made of his "nine gems," nor of the encouragement he offered to learning and learned men, although the *Bhoja-prabandha* devotes three-fourths of its space to recounting the names of the several poets who graced his court and to choice selections from their compositions. Anyhow it is certain that the *Vákyapadiya*, the *Rájamrigánka*, and the *Rájamártaṇḍa* commentary on the Yoga aphorisms which pass in the name of a Bhoja, owe their origin to him, or to his patronage. On the death of Bhoja, the country, says the inscription, was overrun by enemies, and anarchy everywhere reigned supreme, until at last a kinsman *(Bandhu)*† of the

* The Bediyás or Gypsies of India hold a Bhoja to be the founder of necromancy and jugglery, and the Bengali romance *Bhánumati* supports the idea. The common name of conjuration in Bengali is Bhojabáji, or the feats of Bhoja, but no mention of it has been met with in any Sanskrit work.

† By a mistaken estimate of the first word in the following extract a writer in the Journal of the American Oriental Society has been led to call Udayáditya the son of Bhoja :

name of Udayáditya assumed the sovereignty and brought peace and prosperity in his train. Laksmadeva, son of Udayáditya, was a mighty prince. He stretched his arms over all India, and his conquests, says the chronicler, extended from Gour in the east to Balkh beyond Affghanistan, and from Mainák on the Himálaya, to Ceylon in the south; the countries especially named being Gour, Anga, Kalinga, Tripura, Chola, Páṇḍya, Ceylon, Mainák, and Balkh on the Oxus. Much of this no doubt is attributable to poetical hyperbole, for it is not at all likely that Lakshmadheva, a mere duke as he was, did wage war against Mádhavasena, the Vaidya king of Bengal, who is said to have erected pillars of victory even in Central India, or proceed so far as Cabul to give battle to the Gaznavides in their own country. The centre of northern India was at his time held by the Pálas of Kanauj, and they were not likely to fall a prey to the rapacity of a vassal. His conquests in Chola, Páṇḍya, and Tripura may be facts, but they must have been of an ephemeral character.

The Ujjayiní plates, decyphered by Colebrooke,* makes no mention of Lakshmadeva, but carries the succession from Udayáditya successively to Naravarmadeva, Yas'ovarmadeva and the two sons of the last, namely Jayavarmadeva and Lakshmívarmadeva. The Sattárá plates call Lakshmadeva the brother of Naravarma, and assign to the latter sufficient power to commute a grant of two villages made by the former into one of one village, and make Lakshmadeva acknowledge it as a matter of course. It may hence be inferred that

ततोऽभूदुदयादित्यो नित्योत्साहैककौतुकी ।
असाधारणवीरश्रीरश्रीहेतुर्विरोधिनाम् ॥

Journal A. O. S. Vol. II. p. 29—35, Vol. I. p. 517.

The Nágpur inscription has the word *Bandhu*, though the decypherer read it *átmaja*. Probably the same cause led the interpreter of the Madhukargarh inscription to call him the son of Bhoja.

* Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II. p. 297.

Naravarma was the immediate heir and successor of Udayáditya in Malwá, and that his brother held an appanage to the south of the Vindhya, having Nágpur for its capital. Probably he was a governor of the southern provinces during his father's life-time, and subsequently retained them for himself in vassalage to his brother.* Professor Lassen supposes that he must have revolted against his brother, by whom he was overcome and expelled the country, and hence it is that he names Naravarma in the inscription without any praise. It may be urged, however, that had such been the case, he would have scarcely thought it necessary to advert to the revocation of his grant by his brother in a document intended only to record the glories of his family, and his dedication of a temple to his god-elect.

But however that be, certain it is that he was a son of Bhoja's successor, Udayáditya, and lived at the beginning of the twelfth century, and this being the case the question arises, is the Bhoja of the Sattárá inscription identical with the sovereign of that name noticed in the Madhukargarh record and the *Bhoja-prabandha?* or is he different? The two last authorities concur in giving the same genealogy, and evidently intend to describe the same prince. It is true the *Bhoja-prabandha* names Munja, who does not appear on the Madhukargarh tablet, but as the object of the latter was only to give the lineal ancestors of Bhoja Rája, the omission is not a matter of any consequence, inasmuch as Munja was only an uncle of Bhoja, and could not therefore be included among his direct ancestors. The Sattárá and the Nágpur inscriptions name Munja as the immediate predecessor of Bhoja, and therefore may be supposed to allude to the hero of the *Bhoja-Prabandha*, but it makes Munja the son of Siyaka, and Bhoja that of Siñharája. This discrepancy is farther confounded by an inscription from Ujjayiní, decyphered

* Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. II. p. 340.

by me in 1850,* and another found at Indore and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society,† both of which make a Krishṇarája to be the first of a line of kings of Málwá, the second of which was a Vairisiñha, the third Siyaka, and the fourth Vákpatirája *alias* Amoghavarsa, *alias* Vallabhanarendra. The last made a grant of land at Ujjayiní in the year of Samvat 1031= A. D. 974, and subsequently another in Samvat 1036= A. D. 980, just when, according to the Sattárá record, the capital of Málwá must have been in the hands of Munja, or his immediate predecessor. Here, it is true, we have the Vairisiñha of the Sattárá plate, but his son Siyaka is followed, not by Munja, but by Vákpatirája whose alternative names were Amoghavarsha and Vallabhanarendra. To solve this difficulty, it has been suggested that the Siyaka of the Sattárá, the Ujjayaní and, the Indore plates is but an *alias* of the Sindhu of the Madhukargarh monument and of the *Bhoja-Prabandha*, and that Munja is but a nickname of Vákpati *alias* Amoghavarsha ; Sindhula being the *alter ego* of Siñharája. It must readily be admitted that there is little to justify these assumptions, and it is hard to conceive that grave monumental records and title-deeds of real property should so name the same individuals as not be recognisable without assuming farfetched aliases, and yet the identity of

* Journal. A. S., Vol. XIX., p. 475. The conjecture thrown out there regarding the position of Vákpati is untenable.

† Journal, A. S., Vol. XXX., p. 195. Mr. Hall, with his wonted predilection for microscopic criticism, complains in this paper, as elsewhere, of Colebrooke's imperfect translations of the imprecatory verses in the record, and supplies new versions of some under the apology of more than one of their number having been "repeatedly misinterpreted ;" but unfortunately for his criticisms he frequently misinterprets where his predecessors were correct. One notable instance of this occurs at page 210 where "unsteady as a drop of water on a lotus leaf" of Colebrooke having been converted into "uncertain as a bead of water on the petal of a lotus," the idea of unsteadiness has been entirely lost ; since it is only on the flat leaf of the lotus that water is tremulous and not on its more or less slanting petals.

time and place mentioned leaves us no alternative. The Krishṇarája of the Indore and Ujjayiní plates could not reign at the last named place simultaneously with the descendants of the Vairisiṅha of the Sattárá plates, and we must therefore either admit that they were identical, or assume one of the two lines of kings to be mythical. The last is impossible, as we have to deal with donative records of undoubted authenticity.

That those records allude to the same time it is not difficult to show. The Sattárá inscription of Lakshmadeva bears date 1161 Samvat = A. D. 1104. His brother Naravarma was succeeded in Málwá by his son Yas'ovarma, who celebrated the anniversary of his father's death on the 8th of the waxing moon in the month of Kártika S. 1191 (A. D. 1135) by the donation of two villages to a Bráhmaṇ of some sanctity. This grant was subsequently ratified by his son Jayavarma on the 15th of the waxing moon in the month of S'rávaṇa S. 1200 = 16th July, A. D. 1144.* Colebrooke supposed that Naravarma must have died in Samvat 1190, or otherwise his son could not celebrate the anniversary of his funeral in the year following. This, however, is not necessarily the case ; for the *sámvatsarika* or anniversary *s'ráddha* is an observance which recurs every year, and therefore allusion to it implies any time beyond eleven lunisolar months and twenty-nine days ; no matter whether it be one or many years.† Allowing for this uncertainty, a range of only ten years, this much may be taken for granted, that Naravarma died between 1180 and 1190 Saṁvat. Now if we allow him a reign of twenty-five years, and a short one of fifteen to his father Udayáditya, the close of Bhoja's reign will be placed between Samvat 1140 and 1150

* Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, Vol. II., p. 299.

† Wilson, Lassen, and others have adopted the interpretation of Colebrooke, but the practice of the *sámvatsarika s'ráddha* is so strictly observed in the present day, that I make no hesitation in rejecting it, and in so doing I am glad to find I have the support of Professor Weber.

A. D. 1083 to 1093, and the commencement of it at about the beginning of the eleventh century. It has been already assumed on the strength of Vákpati's making grants of land in the neighbourhood of Ujjayiní that he held sovereign power in that capital and the province in which it was situated, in the year of Vikrama 1036= A. D. 980, and if we may attach any importance to their ultra-regal titles, his predecessors for three generations were anointed kings, who, most probably, though not necessarily, did reign at the same place immediately before him. Consequently it must follow that either Vairisiñha and his successors of the Sattárá plate, including Siyaka, Munja and Bhoja, flourished after Vákpati and within 980 to 1083 A. D., or the latter was identical with Munja. The first alternative would give a century for four reigns and that on the supposition that Vákpati died immediately after the grant named above, while we have the authority of the *Kumárapála Charita* to shew that Munja was alive in Samvat 1079 = A. D. 1020, when Durlabha visited him on his pilgrimage,* and that of tradition, the *Bhoja-charita* and the *Bhoja-prabandha*, to assign to Bhoja a reign of fifty-five years, seven months and three days, which leaves only six years unaccounted for, and to be disposed of either by assignment to Munja or Udayáditya. Professor Lassen has accepted the traditionary reign of Bhoja, and I feel fully disposed to acquiesce in it, inasmuch as it would be impossible to account for his wide-spread fame over all India without allowing him a long and prosperous rule.

It is possible that some persons may be disposed to divide Málwá into two principalities, assigning one with Ujjayiní for its capital to the line of Vákpati, and the other with Dhár for its metropolis, to the house of Munja. But this would not be in keeping with the known fact of the successors of Bhoja having owned the whole of Málwá and

* Lassen's Zeitschrift, Vol. VII., p. 220.

a good deal beyond it for their dominion, and they were avowedly sovereigns of much less renown and acquisitive tendency than their ancestors; not to advert to the rather improbable fact of Dhár and Ujjayiní, having each a Siyaka and a Vairisiñha at the same time.

A not very weighty objection to this identification of the two Vairisiñhas and Siyakas arises from the tenor of one of the land grants of Vákpati which was ratified by a Rudráditya, and which consequently implies his vassalage or subordination to him. A second grant of his, however, which is four years earlier, was issued without any ratification and under the authoritative declaration "by my own order" स्वयं आज्ञादायकः. Besides the princes of Central India, and indeed of India generally, held their power under such uncertain tenure and within such circumscribed areas that their independence and vassalage were matters of frequent recurrence, and they cannot be used as arguments against their consecutive reigns in their own dominions. At any rate should the reign of Vákpati and his predecessors in Málwa be on this account doubted, still the relationship of Bhoja cannot for that reason suffer, while the dates of his successors leave no doubt as to his era.

Those dates have been verified, first, by the inscriptions from Sattárá and Nágpur which place Lakshmadeva and Naravarma in S. 1161 = A. D. 1104; second, by three inscriptions from Ujjayiní, one of which gives the dates of Yas'ovarma (1191 S. = A. D. 1137), and the other of his son Lakshmivarma (1200 S. = A. D. 1143); and third by an inscription from Piplianagar* which places Arjunavarma the great grandson of Yas'ovarma in 1272 S. = A. D. 1211—1215, and the statement of which has since been verified by a copperplate from Sehore bearing the same date.† These leave no

* Journal, A. S., Vol. VII., p. 726.

† Journal, American Oriental Society, Vol. VII., p. 24.

doubt as to Bhoja's reign having closed in the year 1083 of the Christian era, and taking the traditionary period of his reign to be correct, his accession to the throne of Dhár would be placed in the year 1026. This would give a reign of near fifty years to Vákpati *alias* Munja, which under ordinary circumstances cannot but raise our suspicion, but with the date before us we must accept it as a fact until otherwise settled by future enquiry.

A recent inscription from Bherá Ghát on the Nurbudda* calls Alhanádeví, the queen of Gayákarṇadeva, of Chedi, the grand-daughter through her mother, of Udayáditya, and makes one of her sons, Narasiñha, reign in the year A. D. 907, another, Jayasiñha, in 928, and her great grandson, Ajayasiñha, a minor, in 932. This carries Udayáditya a century before Bhoja. The anachronism, however, may be explained if we assume the Samvat of the inscription to be other than that of Vikrama, probably of Vallabhi, though it is doubtful if that era ever extended so far as Chedi.

Commenting on an inscription from Oodeypur near Sagore, Mr. Torrens† was led to assign Udayáditya to the seventh century, and Lassen, adopting that assignment, made it correspond with the date given in the Ayín-i Akbery. But the transcript of the document as decyphered by Kamalákánta is so full of lacunæ and so imperfect with all, that it has no claims whatever to any consideration. The Udayáditya era suposed to be mentioned in it is simply the result of an illusion.

Bentley places the close of Bhoja's reign in A. D. 1082,‡ which differs from our assignment by only a single year. Lassen's date is wider by ten years, owing to his having assumed the death of Naravarma to have taken place in 1190

* Journal, American Oriental Society, Vol. VI., p. 499.

† Journal, A. S., p. 545., Vol. IX.

‡ Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII., p. 243.

and not a few years before it, as we assume to have been the case. The differences, however, are so slight that they cannot affect the general conclusion that Bhoja Pramára lived in the middle of the eleventh century, his reign spreading to within a few years of 1026 to 1083 of the Christian era.

XIX.

EARLY LIFE OF AŚOKA.

Position of As'oka in Indian history. Notice of him in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of Nepal. As'oka-avadána. Geneology. Discrepancies in the Puráṇas, &c. Vindusára marries Subhadráñgí. Birth of As'oka. His pupilage. Deputed to Takshas'ilá. Succeeds his father. Suppresses the revolt of his brother. Assassinates his kinsmen. Directs the murder of some ladies of his family. Anecdote of Samudra. As'oka feels interested in Buddhism. Erects Chaityas. Birth of his son. Upa Gupta. Pilgrimage, and devotion to the Bodhi tree at Buddha Gayá. Destruction and revivification of the tree. Deputation of As'oka's son to Takshas'ilá, and his renunciation of the world. Murder of Vítas'oka. Indication in the Láṭs of the religion of As'oka. Arguments in favour of his early Jainism refuted.

OF all the ancient Indian monarchs whose monuments have come down to us, the Emperor As'oka was the greatest. His sway extended from Kapurdigiri in the Eusafzai country to Dháüli in Cuttack, and from north Tirhút to the Peninsula of Gujaráṭ. His anxiety for the good of his subjects was great, and his edicts show the intelligent interest he took in their welfare. He is, however, the least known by the people in the present day. As a renegade from the religion of his ancestors he was detested by the Hindus, and nowhere noticed in their ancient records; and the Buddhists, whose ranks he joined, having been expelled the country, could not keep his name alive in India. To the Hon'ble Mr. Turnour, of Ceylon, belongs the credit of first bringing his name to the notice of European Orientalists; and the identification by James Prinsep of the name with the Piyadasi of the Láṭ inscriptions, laid the ground-work of the historical chronology of ancient India. Next to the identification, made by the founder of the Asiatic Society, of Chandragupta with the Sandrocottus of the Greeks, it was of the highest importance.

The next important event in connexion with the history of As'oka was the discovery of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal. For it too are European scholars indebted to one of the most distinguished associates of the Asiatic Society—distinguished alike for his literary and scientific researches—who first unlocked the store-house of Nepalese Buddhism. Mr. B. H. Hodgson, to whom I refer, collected three sets of MSS. of this literature, one of which he presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society, another to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and the third to the Asiatic Society of Paris. The first of these remains yet untouched; the second has the benefit of only a nominal catalogue; but the third fell into the hands of that profound scholar, Eugène Burnouf, who drew from it the materials of his invaluable *Histoire du Buddhisme indien*. In that work the learned savant notices three MSS. bearing on the life of As'oka. One of them is named *Avadána-s'ataka*, but of it he gives no analysis. According to its name it should contain a hundred legends, but the MS. of it in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library comprises only ninety tales; and these do not refer to the history of As'oka. The second work is the *Divya-avadána*. It is a prose work, devoted entirely to the life of As'oka, and Burnouf has supplied a complete translation of it; but the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society does not possess a MS. of it. The last is the *As'oka-avadána*, and on it I rely for the substance of the following brief remarks. The work extends to 276 folia, and comprises about ten thousand anushṭup verses. Its author's name is not given; but it professes to have been related by one Jayas'rí to his disciples at the Kukkuṭa Vihára, in a garden named Upakaṇṭhikaráma, on the right bank of the Ganges, near Páṭaliputra. The authority quoted is that of a saint named Upa Gupta, the spiritual guide of the king. The first hundred and five folia of the work are devoted to the life of As'oka, and the rest is

made up of tales and anecdotes said to have been related by the saint for the edification of his royal pupil, and to illustrate the morality of the Bauddha religion.

The work opens with the genealogy of As'oka from Bimbisára, king of Rájagriha, who was a contemporary of S'akya. The lineal descendants of Bimbisára were—

2. Mahipála.
3. Udayís'a.
4. Muṇḍa.
5. Kákavarṇí.
6. Sahali.
7. Turakuri.
8. Mahámaṇḍala.
9. Prasenajit.
10. Nanda.
11. Vindusára.

These names occur in the life of As'oka given in the *Divya-avadána*, except the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 7th, which have been differently given, Ajátas'atru appearing for Mahipála, Udayin for Udayís'a, Muyin or Udayibhava, for Muṇḍa, and Tulakuchi for Turakuri or Turakuri. In the absence of necessary MSS. it is impossible to ascertain how far these differences are due to copyist's errors. Apparently they are. The lists given in the Pálí annals and in the Vishṇu Puráṇa are more seriously discrepant. They stand thus :—

Vishṇu Puráṇa, Vol. IV, pp. 180-186.	*Mahávanso*, pp. 15-20.
1. S'isunága.	1. Ajátasattu.
2. Kákavarṇa.	2. Udayibhaddhako.
3. Kshemadharman.	3. Anuruddhako.
4. Kshattraiyas.	4. Muṇḍo.
5. Vidmisára, or Bimbisára.	5. Nágadasako.
6. Ajátas'atru.	6. Susunágo.
7. Darbhaka.	7. Kálás'oko.
8. Udayás'va.	8. Ten sons of the last, no name given.
9. Nandivardhana.	
10. Mahánandi.	9. Chandagutto.
11. Sumálya, &c., the nine Nandas.	10. Bindusáro.
12. Chandragupta.	
13. Vindusára.	

The other Puráṇas give many different versions of the

names above noted, (see Mr. Hall's Notes in *loco cit.*). The Páli names are obviously not so authentic as the Buddhist ones from Nepál. The latter were very early translated into the Chinese, and have therefore better claim to confidence. At the same time it should be observed that the omission of the name of Chandragupta from the latter is significant. Coupled with the fact mentioned by the Nepalese writer that Vindusára came to Páṭaliputra from Rájagriha, it suggests the idea that Chundragupta was the sole king of his race, and that the Mauriya line commenced and ended with him. The Pálí annals make Vindusára the son of Chandragupta. If so, he could not have come from Rájagriha to take possession of his ancestral capital of Páṭaliputra. This is, however, not the place to enter into a discussion on the subject.

According to the work under notice, Vindusára of Rájagriha became the king of Páṭaliputra, and his eldest son was Susíma. When Vindusára was reigning at Páṭalipurta, a Bráhman of Chámpápuri presented him a daughter named Subhadráñgí. The damsel was extraordinarily beautiful, and, a soothsayer having foretold that she would be the wife of a great king and mother of a universal monarch, the father made the present with a view to help the prophecy. The immediate fruit of this presentation did not, however, prove satisfactory to Subhadráṅgí Immured in the palace, she was, through the jealousy of the princesses of the zenana, doomed to menial service. Among other low occupations she was ordered to acquire the art of a barber, whereby, she was told, she would gain the goodwill of the king. When well proficient in the art, she was ordered by the princesses to go and shave the king. She did so, and acquitted herself so well that the king offered to grant her any boon she wished. She prayed for his society; but the king denounced her on account of her being of the low caste of a barber. She explained that she was only acting the part of a

barber by order of the princesses of the palace, but that she was a Bráhmaṇí by birth, and had been presented to the king expressly with a view to his marrying her. The king, thus reminded of her history, granted her wish, and made her the chief queen of the palace. As'oka was the first fruit of this union. He was so named because the mother emancipated herself from her sufferings by his birth, the word meaning "griefless." The lady had a second son named Vítas'oka, or Vigatas'oka, which words have a similar meaning. As'oka was uncomely in his person, and that was the cause of his not winning the affection of his father. His conduct too was repulsive. He was so very unruly and troublesome, that he got the nick-name of *Chaṇḍa* or 'the violent.' His father made him over for training to an astrologer, named Pingalavatsa, who foretold, after, casting various kinds of lots, that the boy would succeed his father on the throne of Páṭaliputra.

When the prince had attained his majority his character did not mend; he was found so troublesome that it was deemed advisable to get rid of him by deputing him to quell a mutiny which had broken out at Takshas'ilá, at a great distance from the seat of the empire. His efforts, seconded, according to the text, by divine declaration resounding in the air and certain celestial arms dropping therefrom for his use, proved successful, and he was well received by the people of that place. In the meantime his elder brother Sus'ima created disturbances at Páṭaliputra and offended the chief minister, through whose intrigue he too was sent to Takshas'ilá, and As'oka was recalled therefrom.

Soon after, the king fell ill, appointed As'oka, through the instigation of the minister, but much against his own will, regent during the absence of his eldest son Sus'ima, and died. As'oka was immediately after anointed and placed on the throne. Sus'ima, on his return, disappointed of his patri-

mony, rose against his younger brother, and attacked Páṭaliputra; but As'oka, through his able minister, Rádha Gupta, overpowered him, and, to prevent future disturbances, ordered his ministers "to lop off the heads of all the trees in the royal garden with their flowers and fruits," in the same sense in which Turquin the Proud lopped off the heads of the "tallest poppies" in his garden, to instruct his son as to what he should do. The ministers demurred, and so he himself struck off their heads, and, retiring to a garden with the ladies of the palace, enjoyed for a time the pleasures of life to the utmost.

Noticing one day that some of the ladies had broken the branches of an As'oka tree, *(Jonesia asoka)* he was very much annoyed, and directed a wicked man named Chaṇḍagirika, "the fierce mountaineer," to burn them to ashes on a large fire, and this was immediately done. The mountaineer, however, soon after met his deserts. Sárthaváha, a rich merchant, had proceeded to sea in the company of a hundred other merchants, and there had a son born unto him, whom he named Samudra. On his way home after twelve years, falling into the hands of pirates he was deprived of his effects, and murdered along with all his companions. His son Samudra alone escaped, and led the life of a Buddhist beggar. Once he came to the house of the mountaineer to beg alms, and was set upon, but could not by any means be murdered. Surprised at it, the mountaineer reported the circumstance to As'oka. The king came to see the strange beggar, heard every thing from him, and then cut off the head of the mountaineer.

The miracle wrought by the beggar worked on the mind of the king, and he became attached to the religion of Buddha. By the advice of a Yati named Yas'as, he caused a chaitya to be erected at the Kukkuṭa garden, and deposited in it some relics of Buddha. He then caused a chaitya and other religious edifices to be erected at Rámagráma. Com-

ing thence to the river Ganges, he was requested by the Nágas to go to their country, and there he caused religious edifices to be erected. At the request of the people of Takshas'silá, he caused 3,510,000,000 stupas to be erected for the deposit of relics. By his order the Yakshas erected on the shores of the sea, ten million stupas for the same purpose. These religious acts endeared him to the people, who dropped the use of the old nick-name Chaṇḍa, and called him Dharmás'oka or "As'oka the virtuous."

After this a son was born unto him named Kunála *alias* Dharmavardhana, who soon distinguished himself in all that was taught him, and was carefully brought up as a follower of the Buddhist religion.

Subsequently, on one occasion, As'oka went to a Yati, at the Kukkuṭa garden, to study the true religion, and, at the suggestion of that recluse, sent for, from the Urumuṇḍa Hill, a Yati named Upa Gupta, to whom he assigned the monastery of Veṇuvana, or the "Bamboo Grove." This saint was the son of one Gupta, a rich man of Mathurá, who had been converted by one S'oṇavásí, a mendicant who resided on the Urumuṇḍa Hill, and had presented his three sons, As'va Gupta, Dhana Gupta, and Upa Gupta to his tutor. A prophecy of Buddha is quoted, according to which the birth of Upa Gupta was to take place a hundred years after his demise (mama nirvṛitimárabhya s'atavarshagate upaguptanáma bhikshurutpatsyati. Fol. 23-24). This chronology, however, does not accord with the statement that As'oka was the thirteenth from Bimbisára, a contemporary of Buddha. A contempory of As'oka could scarcely be born within a hundred years of the reformer's death. Such a prophecy, however, was needed to exalt the rank of the great teacher who became the spiritual guide of so mighty a sovereign as As'oka.

Having studied Buddhism under this tutor, As'oka

under his guidance, went on a pilgrimage to all the principal holy places, visiting the tree under which, in the Lumbini garden, Buddha was born, the places sanctified by the saint's youthful sports, and the tree under the shade of which he performed his long protracted penance. This last tree is named Jambu briksha, *(Eugenia jambulana)* and not, as is usually believed and elsewhere described, an As'vatha. At all these places As'oka caused a Matha or monastery to be established for the adoration of the "Three jewels."

When the teacher retired to his own hermitage, As'oka caused a proclamation to be issued, declaring Buddhism to be the religion of his country; and devoted all his wealth to the propagation and glory of his new religion, and particularly in the embellishment of the Bodhi Tree, or the Tree of Knowledge, at Buddha Gayá; but the name of the place is not given in the text. His chief queen Pavishyarakshitá was, however, annoyed, at his forsaking the old family religion, and, finding that she was neglected, employed a secret agent, a Chaṇḍáli, named Mátangí, to destroy the sacred tree. The woman employed her sorcery and medicines to bear on the task, and the tree soon withered up. News of this sad occurrence was brought to As'oka, and he was deeply grieved. The queen tried her utmost to cheer him, but he was inconsolable. At last she employed her secret agent to revive the tree by her magic arts, and this was soon effected. Thereafter the king devoted five years to the society of the Buddhist congregation. He deputed Supiṇḍola Bharadvája, a Yati from the Mándár Hill, to preach the true religion everywhere over his empire, and celebrated, with great pomp, the quinquennial humiliation and conference, giving a great profusion of wealth, raiment and food to the clergy.

About this time he also celebrated the marriage of his son Kunála with a maiden named Kánchanamálá, and soon after deputed the son to quell an insurrection in Takshas'ilá, a

distant province, which seems to have been ill at ease under the house of Bimbisára. Kunjarakarṇa, the chief of the rebels, succumbed to the powerful army which followed the prince, and peace was soon restored. The insurrection, however, would appear to be a feint, and the real reason, as in the case of Susíma and As'oka himself, was the removal of a troublesome prince from near the throne. It is stated, apparently by way of euphemism, that soon after the deputation, the king saw, in a dream, the prince's face all pale, haggard, and dried up, and, being informed by astrologers that that portended one of three things, *viz.*, loss of life, retirement from the world as a hermit, or loss of sight, was greatly grieved, and neglected all his regal duties. One of his queens named Tis'yarakshitá, who was a step-mother of the prince, heard of this, and, thinking it a good opportunity for her, undertook the superintendence of all business of the court, issuing orders and herself signing and sealing all despatches. She caused a letter to be written to Kunjarakarṇa, and impressed it with the royal signet, directing Kunjarakarṇa to deprive the prince of his eyesight, as the least of the three evils. Kunjarakarṇa was at a loss how to carry out the order. The prince heard of the mandate, and had it duly carried out through the instrumentality of a Chaṇḍála—the task having been held as too cruel to be executed by any person of a higher caste. He then assumed the garb of a beggar, and secretly left Takshas'ilá to roam about the country. In the course of his peregrinations he came to Páṭaliputra, and one night took shelter in the royal elephant stables, where at midnight he amused himself by playing on a flute. The king from his chamber heard the music, and was charmed by it. Next morning he sent for the musician, and recognised in him his only son. Explanations followed, and the king, in a fit of anger, took up his sword to behead the wicked queen; but the youth interceded in the name of

Buddha, and pacified him. This act of mercy for an enemy brought on a miraculous restoration of his sight.

Subsequently, seeing the earnest devotion of the king for the diffusion of Buddhism in his kingdom, certain Tírthikas urged on Vítas'oka, the king's brother, to refuse to accept the new religion. The king had tried his utmost to induce his brother, but failed. The king's minister then set about the task, and by offering him the kingdom made him a convert, and installed him king. As'oka was greatly annoyed at this, and ordered the usurper to be immediately beheaded ; but, through the intercession of the minister, a respite was granted for seven days, after which the prince flew to the shelter of Upa Gupta, and afterwards accepted from Guṇákara, a disciple of that teacher, consecration as a houseless hermit. This renunciation of the world did not, however, enable him to escape with his life. It so happened that at this time a professor of the Nirgrantha school, who reviled the religion of Buddha, had got a picture painted, representing himself with the likeness of Buddha lying at his feet, and this he had circulated widely in the province of Puṇḍravardhana, and As'oka, hearing of it, had proclaimed a price (some dinars) on his head. A cowherd (Ábhíra) had heard of this and one night taking Vítas'oka, with his long beard, matted, hair, and unkempt nails, to be the Nirgrantha, cut off his head, and presented it to the king with a view to obtain the promised reward. The sight of the head deeply grieved the king, and he sought from Upa Gupta, his spiritual guide, religious consolation for his many acts of cruelty. It is scarcely necessary to observe that this story contains the germ of a fratricidal war in which Vítas'oka had been set up by the conservatists of the time to oppose the Buddhist reforms of As'oka, and which, after a few days, terminated in the overthrow of the malcontents.

The history of As'oka is concluded here, and the rest of

the work is made up of moral tales related by Upa Gupta for the edification of the king. Nothing positive is anywhere said in it as to what was the religion of As'oka before he accepted Buddhism. The belief has until lately been general that he was a Hindu, and it was supported by the Pálí annals of Ceylon, which describe him as having followed the doctrine of the Bráhmans. An essay, however, has appeared in which Mr. Thomas demurs to this conclusion, and marshals, in dense array, a large mass of evidence to show that he was a Jain. As the work of a profound scholar, *facile princeps* in the department of Indian numismatology, and thoroughly conversant with the antiquity and history of India, the essay deserves the highest consideration; and the ability and tact with which the evidence has been set forth leave no room to doubt that in this country Jainism was a prevailing religion in the time of As'oka and for some time before it. But it must be added that there has not been a single fact adduced which could directly bear upon the early religion of the author of the rock and the Láṭ edicts. It is abundantly evident from the edicts that As'oka did forsake one religion and accept another; but what it was he forsook, the edicts do not say. There is one passage in these edicts, however, which affords circumstantial evidence of great importance. Mr. Thomas has carefully analysed the whole of the edicts, and described at great length their scope and purpose, but the particular passage to which the speaker referred had been somehow all but entirely overlooked. The passage referred to was the last paragraph of the first Tablet, and in adverting to it, Mr. Thomas simply quotes these words: "This is the edict of the beloved of the gods Rájá Piyadasi—the putting to death of animals is to be entirely discontinued." Now the passage, as rendered by Prinsep, runs thus—"Formerly in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, daily were many hundred

thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food. So even at this day, while this religious edict is under promulgation, from the sacrifice of animals for the sake of food, some two are killed, or one is killed ;—but now the joyful chorus resounds again and again—that from henceforward not a single animal shall be put to death."* In the revised version of Professor Wilson, this passage runs as follows: "There is but one assembly, indeed, which is approved of by the Rájá Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, which is that of the great kitchen of Rájá Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods; every day hundreds of thousands of animals have been here slaughtered for virtuous purposes, but now, although this pious edict is proclaimed that animals may be killed for good purposes, and such is the practice, yet as the practice is not determined, these presents are proclaimed that hereafter they shall not be killed.†"

I am not satisfied with the second version, as it makes the king declare "that the only assembly he approved of was 'his' own great kitchen." The worst of gourmands would have scarcely said so in a royal edict. It is, however, not necessary to discuss the question; it is enough for the purposes of the enquiry that both versions admitted that hundreds of thousands of animals were at one time sacrificed for human food in the kitchen of As'oka; and this fact, I hold, is sufficient to show that that monarch at the time could not have been a Jain. The philosophical character of Jainism allied it very closely to Vedántism, and in that respect it could well pass for a Hindu form of faith. Its belief in the Tírthankaras, or incarnations of the Godhead, for the redemption of sinners and the spread of the true religion, also brought it into close relationship with the religion of the Bráhmans. But it set itself in antagonism to

* Journal, A. S. Bom. Vol. VII, p. 257.

† Journal, Royal A. S. Vol. XII, p. 164.

Hinduism, the old faith of the country, by denouncing the Vedas as false, and the sacrifices enjoined in them as mischievous and sinful. A hypertrophy of the feelings of mercy for animated creatures forms its cardinal point. It might be that originally this feeling was not carried to the absurd extent which resulted, to quote the vivid language of Mr. Thomas, in "devices of Hospitals for the suffering members of the brute creation, and ultimately, in after times, progressing into the absurdity of the wearing of respirators and the perpetual waving of fans, to avoid the destruction of minute insect life. An infatuation, which eventually led to the surrendering of thrones and kingdoms, to avoid a chance step which should crush a worm, or anything that crept upon the face of the earth; and more detrimental still, a regal interference with the every-day life of the people at large, and the subjecting of human labour to an enforced three months' cessation in the year, in order that a moth should not approach a lighted lamp, and the revolving wheel should not crush a living atom in the mill."* But it is impossible to conceive a form of Jainism which tolerated the daily sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of animals for meat food or religious worship. From its very conception Jainism, like Buddhism, was a protest against the sacrifices of the Vedas. At a time when the Vedic ordinances enjoined hecatombs of cattle as the means of salvation, and the cruel practice of driving wooden spikes into the hearts of the victims as the orthodox mode of slaughter, such a protest was not only needed, but could not but most effectually appeal to the feeling of the public, and ally it on its behalf. This protest apart, there would be no *raison d'être* for Jainism; and to suppose therefore that As'oka, as a Jain, could, for purposes of *pujá* and food, daily sacrifice hundreds of thousands of animals, would be to assume a gross inconsistency. As a Hindu, following

* Journal, Royal A. S. Vol. IX, p. 189.

the canons of the Kalpa Sútras, he could do all that and more most appropriately; and the presumption, therefore, would be strong, that he was a Hindu following the Hindu faith when he indulged in those sacrifices, and became a Jain or a Buddhist, when, in the 10th or 12th year of his reign, he prohibited those sacrifices. This would be a much more reasonable solution of the question, than the supposition that notwithstanding his Jainism, he had, from the heedlessness of youth, or the love of "cake and ale," indulged in transgressions of the rules of his ancestral faith.

Such a solution would, likewise, be in keeping with the accounts of the Pálí annals of Ceylon, which in a case of this kind was more reliable than deductions founded upon monograms and mystic symbols of doubtful significance, and of such extensive currency that their testimony could not be of any use in settling the question. The most important of these symbols was the *svastika.* It was unquestionably held in great veneration by the Jains; but as shewn elsewhere (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June 1877), it was held in equal esteem by the Hindus, and was well known to, and used by, the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Assyrians and other nations of antiquity. Mr. Thomas is of opinion that the Pálí annalists of the 5th century, living years after the event, could not be expected to afford the best evidence on the subject. "Under any circumstances," he observes, "their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about other lands and other times, and it is moreover, a crucial question as to how much they knew about Bráhmaṇism itself, and whether the use of the word Bráhmaṇism does not imply merely in this sense, a non-Buddhist or any religion opposed to their own."* This assumption of the ignorance of the Siñhalese annalists as to the true nature of Bráhmaṇism is, however, gratuitous.

* Journal, Royal A. S. IX, p. 181.

There is nothing to justify it: on the contrary much in their writings shows that they were perfectly familiar with it. Their intercourse with the people of the Coromandel Coast gave them ample opportunities to know the nature of Bráhmanism; and Bráhmanism in the South did not, in the 5th century, differ much, if at all, from that of the North.

As a collateral evidence of much weight in the case, I have a passage in the *As'oka-avadána,* in which are described the means which certain Tírthikas are said to have adopted for checking the progress of Buddhism, and persuading Vítas'oka, the younger brother of As'oka, not to adopt the religion of Buddha which his brother was promulgating, and to rise in rebellion against him. It runs thus—

"Beholding this (the attention paid by As'oka to the dissemination of the Buddhist creed), these arrogant Tírthikas, oppressed by the fire of envy, collected together, and said to each other: 'Should this king As'oka continue a worshipper of Buddha, all other persons, encouraged by him, would likewise become followers of Buddha. None among the people will be devout; none of the good S'rávakas will listen to us with respect. We should therefore, for the promotion of honor and fame, always adopt such means as will make us fully trusted.' Excited by this speech, the arrogant Tírthikas came to the resolution of adopting immediate action. Then these Tírthis went from house to house of well-disposed people, and, blessing them, thus addressed them: 'Honorable sirs, listen to us if you wish for your own good. Should you wish for a blessed hereafter, devote yourself to the true religion. Ours is the true religion, and therefore attend to it with all respect. The religion of the Buddhas is not the true one, for it provides no salvation *(moksha).*' Hearing these words some were convinced, others vacillated, and some would not believe them at all. Thus those Tírthikas, wishing for honors, daily seduced credulous people. Then those arro-

gant ones, longing for fame and respect, proceeded to visit Vítas'oka, the brother of Asoka. Appearing before Vítas'oka the son of Vindusára, they blessed him, and stood in front of him. Vítas'oka, seeing them in front of him, saluted them, and enquired the object of their visit. 'Reverend sirs, what has brought you so anxious to this place? You are always welcome to relate whatever you wish.' Thus encouraged those arrogant Tírthikas, looking at each other, thus addressed the prince: 'May success always attend you, great king *(Mahárája)*; may you always prosper; may you be free from all fear. Since we have come to advise you for your good, it is meet that we should tell you all. Should you wish for a blessed hereafter, listen to our advice. Ours is the true religion, alike salutary here and hereafter. Those who know best declare it to be the best of all systems of religion. Therefore, O learned king, believe in it, listen to our religion, and follow it with ardour. Then every thing will prosper about you; and overcoming all your enemies you will become a universal monarch *(Chakravartí)*. The religion of the Buddhas is not true, for it offers no salvation *(moksha)*. Therefore that religion should never be listened to. Since those shaven-pated, vile destroyers of their family preach a false religion, overthrowing all caste and all duty—men, devoid of the religion of the Vedas, un-Bráhmanical in their conduct, and vilely passionate—they should, O king, on no account be respected by you. No Buddha should be revered, nor seen, nor touched, nor worshipped, nor spoken to, nor dwelt with in the same house, nor visited by any one. You should on no account eat with them, nor present anything to a Buddhist sanctuary. Even when by mistake men listen to the doctrines of the Buddhas with regard, they suffer from various calamities, and at last repair to hell. Hence, O king, should you wish for a blessed hereafter, never listen to the doctrines of the Buddhas with respect. Should one, by delusion, looking at

the merits of their religion, accept it, he, fallen here, will be translated to hell hereafter. For these reasons, O great king, accept not the doctrine of Buddha, but, abiding by our canons, follow the true religion with devotion. By so doing you will here and hereafter enjoy great blessings. No evil shall ever befall you, and you will proceed on by the true path. Listening to our words, weigh well which is good and which is evil, and for your own advantage follow the path of duty.' Vítas'oka heard this address of the Tírthikas, but remained unconvinced of their truth. The Tírthikas addressed him again and again, and at last brought him convinced, under their control."*

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* तदा ते तीर्थिकाः सर्व्वे तद्दृष्ट्वा येऽभिमानिनः ।
ईर्ष्याग्नितापितास्तत्र सम्मील्यैवं बभाषिरे ॥
भवन्तो यदयं राजा ह्यशोको बुद्धसेवकः ।
तथानुमोदिताः सर्व्वे भवन्ति बुद्धसेवकाः ॥
तदत्र नो जनाः केचिद्‌ भवन्ति श्रद्धया तथा ।
इमे स्वश्रावकाश्चापि न शृण्वन्ति समादरात् ॥
तद्वयं सर्व्वथा सर्व्वे यशोमान्यप्रवृद्धये ।
कुर्व्वीमहि तथोपायं यथा स्याम प्रमाणिकाः ॥
श्रुत्वेति तीर्थिकाः केचिद्यशोमानाभिलालसाः ।
तथेति सम्मतं कृत्वा कर्त्तुमेवं पुरेऽचरन् ॥
तत्र सर्व्वत्र ते तीर्थ्याः श्रद्धालूनां गृहं प्रति ।
गत्वाशीर्व्वचनं दत्त्वा पुर एवं समब्रुवन् ॥
भदन्ताः श्रूयतां सर्व्वे यद्धितं वः प्रवक्ष्यते ।
यद्यस्ति सुगतौ वाञ्छा तत् सुधर्म्मं प्रसीदत ॥
अस्माकमेव सद्धर्म्मस्तदत्र शृणुतादरात् ।
बौद्धानां नहि सद्धर्म्मो यतो मोक्षो न विद्यते ॥
इति तैर्गदितं श्रुत्वा केचिल्लोकाः प्रबोधिताः ।
केचिद्दोलायमानाश्च केचिच्चैव प्रतीतिनः ॥
तथा ते तीर्थिकाः सर्व्वे श्रद्धालुषु जनेष्वपि ।
माध्यस्थाः प्रभाषन्ते प्रचेरिरे दिने दिने ॥

Now, this extract is from one of the works, which, according to Mr. Thomas, are "data, contributed from the

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ततस्ते मानिनः सर्व्वे यशोमान्याभिलाषिनः।
अशोकभ्रातरं वीतशोकं द्रष्टुमुपाचरन्॥
तत्र ते वीतशोकं तं विन्दुसारनृपात्मजं।
दृष्ट्वाशीर्व्वचनं दत्त्वा पुर एव समाश्रयन्॥
ततस्तान् समुपासीनान् वीतशोको निरीक्ष्य सः।
प्रणत्य विनयं कृत्वा पप्रच्छागतिकारणं॥
भगवन्तः किमर्थं वो यदिहागच्छथादरात्।
यदिच्छितं तदस्मासु वक्तुमर्हथ सर्व्वथा॥
इति तेनोदितं श्रुत्वा ते तीर्थ्या आभिमानिकाः।
परस्परं समालोक्य तं नृपात्मजमब्रुवन्॥
जयोऽस्तु ते महाराज प्रसीद हितभद्रव।
यद्वयं ते हितं वक्तुमिहायामः समादरात्॥
तदस्माभिर्हितं वाक्यं वक्तव्यं हि प्रचक्ष्यते।
यद्यस्ति सुगतौ वाञ्छा तदस्माकं वचः शृणु॥
अस्माकमेव सद्धर्म्ममिहामुत्र शुभङ्करं।
सर्व्वधर्म्माधिकं प्रोक्तं सर्व्वशास्त्रेषु तद्विदैः॥
तस्माद्राजन् महाविज्ञ विदित्वैव प्रमाणय।
अस्मद्धर्म्मं समाकर्ण्य भज नित्यं समाहितः॥
तथा ते × समं नित्यं सर्व्वत्रापि भवेद्ध्रुवं।
सर्व्वारींश्च विनिर्जित्य चक्रवर्त्ती भवेरपि॥
बौद्धानां न हि सद्धर्म्मो यतो मोक्षो न विद्यते।
तस्मात्तद्धर्म्मता नैव श्रोतव्या हि कथञ्चन॥
यतस्ते मुण्डिता भ्रष्टाः स्वकुलधर्म्मनाशकाः।
मिथ्याधर्म्माभिवादन्ते (?) जातिधर्म्मसमुज्झिताः॥
वेदधर्म्मबहिर्जाता अब्रह्मण्या विचण्डकाः।
अनाचारा अशुद्धाङ्गा अशुचिव्रतचारकाः॥

very *nidus* of Buddhism in Magadha, whose passage into the ready refuge of the valley of Nepal, would *primâ facie* have received an unadulterated version of the ancient *formulæ*, and have supplied a crucial test for the comparison of the southern developments, as contrasted with the northern expansions and assimilations of the faith."* The work itself professes to have been compiled by a disciple of the great

तस्मात्ते भवता राज्ञा नैव मान्या कदाचन ।
वन्दनीया न ते बौद्धा दर्शनीया न केनचित् ॥
नापि स्पृश्या न पूज्याश्च सम्भाष्या नैव तैः सह ।
न स्थातव्यं न गन्तव्यं भोक्तव्यं नापि सर्व्वथा ॥
किञ्चिदपि न दातव्यं बुद्धक्षेत्रे कथञ्चन ।
प्रमादादपि बुद्धानां शृणुयुर्धर्म्ममादरात् ॥
ते सर्व्वे नरकं गत्वा दुःखानि सर्व्वदाप्नुयुः ।
तस्माद्राजन् स्वयं तेषां बुद्धानां धर्म्ममादरात् ॥
श्रोतव्यं नैव कुत्रापि यदि सद्गतिमिच्छति ।
यदि मोहाद्गुणांस्तेषां दृष्ट्वा धर्म्मं प्रभाषयेत् ॥
स इहापि परिभ्रष्टः परत्र नरकं व्रजेत् ।
इति हेतोर्महाराज मा भज बुद्धशासनं ॥
अस्माकं शासने स्थित्वा भज सद्धर्म्ममादरात् ।
एवं कृते परत्रेह सर्व्वदापि फलं लभेः ॥
दुर्गतिं नैव यायास्त्वं सद्गतिमेव यास्यसि ।
इत्यस्मद्वचनं श्रुत्वा हिताहितं विचारय ॥
स्वात्मनो हि हितं कर्त्तुं सम्यग्धर्म्मं समाचर ।
इति तैस्तीर्थिकैः प्रोक्तं वीतशोको निशम्य सः ॥
नैवं तद्वचनं सत्यमिति मत्वा मुमोद न ।
पुनस्ते तीर्थिकाः सर्व्वे एवं द्विधा त्रिधाऽपि तं ॥
वीतशोकं समाभाष्य परिबोध्य वशेऽनयन् ॥

* Journal R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 171.

teacher who converted As'oka to the faith of Buddha, and in so far may claim to be all but contemporary authority. It is probably, however, of a much later origin; but one redaction of it was translated into the Chinese in the reign of the Western Tsin dynasty (*cir.* 265-313),* and consequently the work must be admitted to be considerably older than the date of that version, and it leaves no room to doubt that at least one of the prevailing religions of the time of As'oka was that of the Tírthikas or of the Bráhmanic followers of the Vedas. It was those Tírthis who felt most anxious about the perversion of As'oka to the faith of Buddha, and not the Jains. They too put themselves most forward to check the evil; they everywhere denounced Buddhism as false, and kept numbers of the people attached to Hinduism. They, again, deterred the brother of As'oka from becoming a Buddha, and set up the fratricidal war which terminated so disastrously against their protégé and his ancestral religion. And if Vítas'oka was a Hindu, it would be too much to say that his elder brother in his youth was a Jain, and that he had got it from his ancestors. The two uterine brothers could not but have been brought up in the same religion; and since Vítas'oka was a Hindu according to data admittedly "contributed by the very *nidus* of Buddhism," the conclusion becomes all but inevitable that his brother likewise was one until he became a Bauddha.

† Beal's Chinese Trípithaka, pp. 88, 89.

XX.
THE PRIMITIVE ARYANS.*

Materials available for a history of the Primitive Aryans unsatisfactory. Conclusions arrived at admitted to be unquestionable. Pritchard's researches. Researches of modern philologists. Phonetic decay and regeneration. Mutability of letters; and of words. Inference of a primitive Aryan language; and of a primitive Aryan race. Mythological evidence. Locale of the Aryans. Age of the Zendavesta. Origin of the word *Arya*,—its dispersion. Social condition of the Aryans. Their food and drink. Their language. Their poetry. They had no writing. Their morality and government. Development of religion. Monotheism of the Aryans. Attributes of the Divinity. Form of worship. Principle of evil. Dispersion of the Aryans. The Mesagetæ. The Sclavonic tribes. The Lithuanians. The Teutons. The Celts. The Thracians. The Armenians and the Hellenico-Italians. Schism between the Pársís and the Hindus. The result of the schism.

THE race of whom it is proposed to give a brief sketch in this paper belonged to a period of remote antiquity, far away from the range of authentic history. Its very existence has to be proved by a process of regular induction, and much that can be said of it is purely conjectural, —dark, hazy, faint, and indistinct. Hence it is most likely that the cloud of doubt and uncertainty which hangs over the subject, will, to a great extent, cast its shadow on these pages. Where materials for judgment are so imperfect, it is but natural that conclusions drawn from them must be more or less dubious. The subject, however, is of engrossing interest, concerning, as it does, the early history of the most progressive branch of the human race; and in connexion with it even a *résumé* of the more important theories and conjectures which have recently gained currency will not be without its use.

The researches of comparative anatomists, of comparative

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philologists, and of comparative mythologists during the present century, have effected a complete revolution in the treatment and classification of the human race. The claims of all the old patriarchs have been set aside; and even the terminology, which used to be employed in treating of the subject, has been all but entirely rejected. This revolution is particularly remarkable with reference to the origin of the leading races of Europe, and of some of the nations of Asia. The Greeks, the Romans, the Teutons, the Celts, the Wallachians and the Icelanders, who differ so widely from each other in those respects which constitute distinctive ethnic peculiarities, are all now believed to be the issues of the same primitive stock from which have descended the Ostiaks of Circassia, the Iranians of Persia, the Pațháns of the Hindu Kush, and the Bráhmaņic tribes of India. However startling the statement may appear to persons who have not studied the subject, the fact is believed by those who have studied it, to be as incontrovertible as that two and two make four; and justly has Professor Max Müller observed that "there is not an English jury now-a-days, which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton."

The first idea of a common origin of these races is due to Dr. Pritchard, who, after examining the characters of a number of skulls of various races and tribes, came to the conclusion, that the Circassians represented the stem, from which had branched off most of the nations of Europe, and some of Asia. The number of skulls he had to examine were necessarily few and insufficient, and the conclusions which he and his disciples arrived at, though generally received as probable, failed to command implicit and universal belief.

Next came the philologists, with Francis Bopp at their head, who after a tedious and protracted study of the mor-

phology and grammar of the languages spoken by the different races concerned, came to the opinion that they were closely related to each other. To follow and unweave the intricate process of ratiocination by which this conclusion was arrived at would require more time and space than I can afford within the small compass of this essay. Nor need the attempt be made. Philology now ranks with the foremost of sciences, and it is, therefore, not at all necessary to tire the patience of the reader by entering into a comparison of a long string of words to prove the fact. The names of Grimm and Bopp, of William von Humboldt and Max Müller, are amply sufficient to convince him that the investigation made has been thorough and searching, and that the deduction is the legitimate consequence of the facts brought to light.

It may, nevertheless, be not without interest to point out the principle which has been followed in working out the discovery. Those who are familiar with the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian languages, know well how closely related they are to each other. It is also well-known that this relationship is not one of descent, but of fraternity. The French is not descended from the Italian, nor the Spanish from the French, nor the Portuguese from the Spanish language; but they all are produced by a process of gradual decay and regeneration of the Latin tongue. Now, the philologists have discovered that the Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic languages are related to the Sanskrit and the ancient Persian exactly in the same way as the aforesaid European languages are related to each other; or, in other words, they are sisters, all descended from a common stock. This relationship is not at first sight well apparent. Letters are liable to change in process of time, under altered physical conditions and other causes affecting the human voice. There is also a spirit of economy constantly exerting to pare and clip hard-sounding words and render them soft and easy of pronuncia-

tion; and to join different words, and wear them down into handy little compounds. These changes, however, take place under strict natural laws, common all over the world; and the philologists, having discovered them, are in a position to demonstrate, step by step, the various changes which languages have undergone from the earliest times to our own day.

It may be asked, why should letters change?—and it may not be easy to answer the question, except in a round-about way which the reader may not care to follow. But that they do change, none will for a moment deny. Take the letter *v*. It is well-known that it hardens in some mouths into *b*, and softens in others into *w* or *u*. When the renowned dame Sarah Gamp talks of the "wale of tears" none doubts that she means the vale of tears. In the same way when my Lord Dundreary "theeth a thee thowpent thwimming on the thea," few have any difficulty in making out that he talks of the sea-serpent swimming on the sea; but the general reader would scarcely be disposed to believe that he does this according to a natural law by which *s* and *th* are interchangeable. Let him, however, take the mediæval *hath* changed into *has* in our day, and he will at once admit that my Lord Dundreary is, as befits his conservatism, using the *th* in the place of *s*, though he may not be aware of it. The aspiration of the intial *a* and the softening of the initial *h*, so characteristic of the Cockney, are familiar to Englishmen; so are peculiarities of the Irish and broad Scotch pronunciation; though very few persons take them to be the result of natural laws. Yet, if they be written down phonetically they will produce quite new languages. The philologists take note of these changes, and, deducing rules therefrom, apply them in solving questions regarding little-known and unknown tongues. The success with which this process of induction and analogy has been carried out is wonderful,

and words, apparently the most dissimilar, have been by it demonstrated to be the same. The most remarkable instánce of this occurs in the identity of the familiar English domestic pet term Nelly with the Vedic Saramá. No two words could be more unlike each other, and there is not a single letter common to both ; yet, construed by the rules of philological science, they have been demonstrated to be unmistakeably the same. The credit of this demonstration is due to Professor Max Müller, and he has worked out the problem in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired.

Every educated Englishman knows well that Nelly is but a corruption, or transposition, of the syllables of Ellen, and that Ellen is a corruption of Helen. Now, the hard aspiration of the *s* is a common occurence, and there are many examples of the initial *s* of the Sanskrit changing into *h* in Greek ; the liquid *r* also frequently melts into *l*, and there are several Sanskrit words which are written indifferently with either *r* or *l*.* Take for intance the Sanskrit word *úrmi* changed in Greek into ἐλύω ; Sanskrit *ruk*, Greek λευκός ; Sanskrit *ṛik*, Greek λειπω. Accept these changes and you have Saramá changed into Halamá. Omit the final *a* as the feminine affix in Sanskrit not required in Greek, and alter *m* into *n*, a change also frequent in Greek,† and you have Halan. Now comes the vowel *a* ; and with reference to it I have to observe that words which in Sanskrit have *a*, often take in Greek and Latin *e* or *i* or *o* ; thus Sanskrit *das'am* is

* We have a parallel case in English in which *Mary* becomes *Molly*, the *r* changing into *l*.

† Thus, the *m* of the Sanskrit accusative in Greek masculine and feminine vocalic stems, with the solitary exception of those ending in *εν*, always becomes *ν*, *e. g.*, *ανφρωπον*, *οστεον*, *μὰντιν*, *νεκυν*, *ἄγρόν*, *φυγήν* &c.. As a final but not an accusative case-mark it also changes into *n* in Greek ; thus Sanskrit *abharam*, Greek ἔπερον ; Sanskrit *padam*, Greek, ποδων ; Sanskrit *dham*, Greek Θαν, ἔΘανον.

Greek δέκα, Latin *decem ;* Sanskrit *par*, Greek πλήρης, Latin *plenus ;* Sanskrit *gagana*, Greek γεγονα ; Sanskrit *manas*, Greek μενος, Latin *minus*, &c.; and if we apply this rule to Halan it becomes Helen, and Saramá the type of Nelly.

However ingenious, this is doubtless a very intricate process. But the philologists have not to resort to it often. In many cases the comparisons are easier and simpler; and yet it should be carefully borne in mind that there must be in the vast majority of instances some change or alteration explainable only by the laws of philology, for we may rest assured that in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, when we find a word exactly alike in Greek and Sanskrit, it is not the same word. This is easily accounted for ; the growth of language, like that of plants or animals, must be influenced by climatic and other causes ; and it is impossible, therefore, that the result of such growth in two such widely different climates as those of Greece and India should be the same. The laws which regulate the growth of language, or in other words, of phonetic decay and dialectic regeneration are well known ; and with their aid it is easy to demonstrate the similitude between the Greek and the Sanskrit languages.

Nor are these similitudes the results of accidental coincidences. "The terms for God, for house, for father, mother, son, daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree," are so intimately associated with our domestic existence—we learn them so early in our infancy—and retain them in mind with such earnest attachment, we regard them with such intense interest as household words, that it would be preposterous to suppose that any nation would change them for the sake of a change, or for any reason whatever ; and their identity in so many different languages, living and thriving under widely different social, moral, and physical conditions, cannot reasonably be accepted as the result of an accident. The fact points to the languages in which they

occur being descended from one common parent. In the case of the Romance languages we have the Latin as the parent ; but as regards the Asiatic and the European languages in which this relationship exists, there is no language extant to which we can readily appeal, and yet from analogy the existence of such a language at one time or other in the history of man must be admitted.

And if we admit a primitive language as the parent of the Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic languages on the one hand, and of the Sanskrit, the Zend, and the Ostiak on the other, we must also admit that the different peoples who speak those languages are related to each other by blood, and descended from a common stock. A language could not spread over so vast a tract as the best portion of Europe and a good part of Asia, without the nation which spoke it spreading likewise. The Hindus here can learn English and French, indifferently at best, but still they can ; and people in Europe have learnt to read and write in many foreign languages ; but neither the Hindus nor the Europeans have accepted a foreign language for a vernacular. There is no instance in history in which one nation has voluntarily accepted the language of another in lieu of its own ; nor is a process known by which a language can be acclimatised. The Negroes in the Southern States of North America, doubtless, speak the English language as their vernacular ; but it implies the existence among them of a dominant race of Englishmen, and their isolation from their parent stock ; and even then their English is as different from that of their masters, as the modern English is from that of the time of King John. Associated with their parent stock in South Africa, the Caffres, notwithstanding their mixing freely with Europeans, have not exchanged their vernacular for one from Europe ; and even the remnant of the miserable race of humanity which once peopled Australia, have not accepted the English in lieu of

their own imperfect medium of speech.* The hypothesis, therefore, must at once be conceded that there was not only a primitive language from which Indo-European languages have descended, but also a primitive race which spread that language over different parts of the earth.

To turn now to the comparative mythologists. Their researches show that the various tales and stories of gods and demons, which governed the intellect of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, have their counterparts in the mythology of the Hindus; and that in many instances even the very names of their gods and demons are common to all of them. The ethereal expanse over our heads, which first inspired man with a sense of a God above, received in the earliest Veda the name of Varuṇa; and by an easy transition it also became the name of the One God, the maker and Supreme Governor of all things. We have the counterpart of this Hindu Varuṇa in the Ouranus of the Greek Mythology; and even as Ouranus was deposed by Zeus in Greece, so was Varuṇa by Dyaus in the Vedic legend, and relegated to a subordinate position as the regent of the waters.

The Eastern sky at early dawn is the most charming object in nature, and many an allegory has been elaborated in connexion with it. The dawn is as resplendent in the clear blue sky of Greece as it is in India, and it need excite no wonder that there should be myths formed about it in both countries; but that all the myths so formed should be alike, and their principal figures should have the same names, imply a community of origin of the myths which cannot easily be denied. The heroine of the stories must be the dawn, aptly represented as a charming maiden, and her names in the Ṛig Veda are Arjuni, Brisaya, Dahana, Ushas, Saramá, and Saraṇyu, and all these names re-appear among

* The language of the Gypsies, too, offers a remarkable instance of the vitality of a mother tongue under the most trying circumstances.

the Greeks as Argyronis, Briseis, Daphne, Eos, Helen, and Erinys. In the Veda, Panis, a wicked monster, is said to have tempted Saramá to be unfaithful to Indra. Among the Greeks Paris tempted Helen, whence arose the myth which inspired the blind old bard of Scio's isle with the tale of Troy.* A no less immortal bard in India sang of the same tale in his renowned Rámáyaṇa. One of the great exploits of Indra, was the destruction of the serpent-shaped Vṛitra who had stolen the rain-producing clouds of heaven: and the Greeks sang of the mighty deed of their Apollo in piercing to death with his lance the demon Python. The demon re-appears as the Sphinx in the story of Œdipus, as the dragon in the story of Perseus, as the Zohak in the mythology of Persia, and in a number of other myths Indian and European. Even the name of Vṛitra is not lost in Greece, for we have it in Ortheros, the brother of Kerberos, the Vedic Sarvara, who guards the gates of Hades. Manu, the father of mankind and the first-born of Prajápati, re-appears in the Kretan legends as Minos, son of Zeus. A host of other instances may be easily cited; but as it is not my object now to discourse on comparative mythology, I must pass them by. Those adduced will give a fair idea of the kind of similitude which the myths of ancient Europe and those of India bear to each other.

It is no doubt true that stories may be easily borrowed from one nation by another; and, *ipso facto*, their similitude does not yield any data for ethnic deductions. Modern novels afford the most conclusive proof that such borrowing goes on, acknowledged or unacknowledged, to an enormous

* We must beg Dr. Schleimann's pardon for still maintaining the mythical character of the siege of Troy. His discoveries are highly interesting, but it still remains to be proved that the chest, caskets, jewels and pateras he has found are identically the same with which old Priam was trying to scale the walls of Troy at the time of their fall, and that the remains of walls he has seen really belonged to Troy.

extent without any necessary race amalgamations; and the Persian, Arabic, and European versions of the Pancha-tantra show that the same thing happened likewise in former times. But there is no analogy between the myths under notice and the Fables of Pilpay, or the modern novels. The latter are avowed fictions, whereas the former preserve the ancient traditions of the people and the recollections of their forefathers and their gods, and are intimately associated with all that is sacred and holy in the annals of the race. They are cherished with all the enthusiasm of devotion which the halo of antiquity can claim for the past glories of a nation, and which anxiety for the welfare of the present time, and for the prospects of a future life can influence the action of mankind. They are ingrained with the intellectual existence of the different races concerned, and cannot be foreign to them.

Admitting, then, on the evidence of anatomy, philology, and mythology that there was in former times a primitive race of men, from which have descended the several nations who speak the Indo-European languages; the questions arise, —who were the men? and where did they live?

To frame our replies to these queries we have only traditions for our guide.

The Greeks point towards the east for the abode of their gods, and so do the Romans; and this would suggest the idea that they came to Europe from the east, for the nations of antiquity believed themselves to be the descendants of their gods, and consequently it may fairly be taken for granted that the country of their gods was likewise the country of their original ancestors. The east here referred to, however, did not, as far as we know at present, extend beyond Mount Olympus, or Asia Minor, which could not have been the original seat of the race in question, because the Pársís, who are likewise the descendants of the same race, point to the east, and that

takes us far away from Asia Minor. The inference, therefore, is that, travelling from the east of Persia, the colony which peopled Greece halted for some time in Asia Minor, and that Greek tradition stops short at that place, and has lost all remembrance of countries to the east of it. To the east of Persia we have Central Asia and Afghánistán; but the Hindus, when dwelling in the valley of the Five Waters, pointed to the north as their heaven. This could not be said of Afghánistán, which was to their west. Now if we draw a line to the north from the Panjáb, it will run over the Kailás range; and a line from it towards Persia will cross over that tract of Central Asia which generally appears in modern maps under the name of Independant Tartary. It comprises a series of plateaux, or elevated plains, watered by the Ámu Dariyá and the Murgháb, and bounded by the Caspian Sea on the west, the Hindu Kush on the south, the Kailás range on the east, and the Kizelkum, and other sandy deserts on the north. The principal countries of the present day in this tract are mostly Turanian or Turkoman, including the large towns along the line of Balkh, Samarkand, Mished, and Herat. In ancient times it comprised Scythia, or the country of the S'akas, on the east, that of the Mesagetæ in the north, and Sogdiana, Angaria, Aspasiakæ, Thomani, Kanthi, Hyrcania, Parthia, Marghiana and others in the middle, west, and south. A portion of this tract must, therefore, be accepted as the *officina gentium* whence issued forth, in the dawn of history, swarms of men whose descendants now constitute the most civilised nations of the earth.

The tract above defined is very large; and to point to a portion of it is to leave matters quite undecided. I must, therefore, try to trace the *locale* by first ascertaining the name of the people under notice. This name is to be sought for in the scriptures of the Pársís and of the Hindus. The oldest Veda dates, according to the most moderate European calculation,

from fourteen to sixteen hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era, and some of the most ancient hymns are considerably older. The Hindus reckon their age by millions of years. The age of the Zendavesta is quite as uncertain. Zoroaster, the author of that work, according to ancient writers, lived at a remote period of antiquity. Pliny compares him with Moses, and makes him a predecessor of Moses by many thousand years (Hist. Nat. XXX. 2). Aristotle and Exodus place him 6,000 years before Plato. A Babylonian historian, Beroseus by name, describes him as a King of Babylon who reigned more them two thousand years before Christ. Xanthos of Lydia (470 B. C.), the earliest Grecian writer who has noticed him, believes that he flourished 600 years before the Trojan war. These dates are, it is true, all open to question; but Dr. Martin Haug, who notices these references, and whose researches into Zend literature and history have been the most thorough and exhaustive of any, is of opinion that "under no circumstances can we assign to Zoroaster a later date than 1000, B.C."; and he is "even not disinclined to place his era much earlier, and make him a contemporary of Moses." Anyhow, the Ṛigveda Sañhitá and the Zendavesta are the only works extant that can carry us as far back towards our early ancestors as we can possibly expect, and their testimony in this respect must be accepted as conclusive. It is true that in many respects the statements of those works are improbable, or questionable; but there is no reason to doubt that the names of places, persons, and things, preserved in them are genuine relics of their ancient nomenclature. Now both these records are at one in calling the ancestors of their respective authors by the same name. The Vedic Hindus called themselves *Áryas*, and the tract in which they settled themselves in India has the distinctive name of *Áryadesa*. The counterpart of the last word occurs in the Yaçna as *Airyadagya;* and in the Vendidad

Sade the word *Arieno-vaijo* stands for the home of the ancestors of Zoroaster. The *Arya-desa* or *Aryá-vartta* of Manu is bounded on the north by the Himálayá, and on the south by the Vindhyan chain, leaving the west undefined; and in his time and for a long period after it, it is well-known the Hindus occupied a great portion of Afghanistán, and so among them the name Árya most probably extended as far as that country.

The word is derived from a root implying ploughing; and it is to be thence inferred that the agriculturists who were doubtless the most advanced in civilisation of the race, adopted it as their tribal designation, and others subsequently followed their example, and the term became the name of the entire race; as such it was interpreted to mean 'honorable' or 'noble'; and the nations and tribes who assumed it as their race name, prided themselves upon their being the nobles among men. In the Rig Veda the word occurs nine times, and always to indicate the Bráhmanic tribes in contradistinction to the *Anárya*, or the ignoble race which surrounded them. Darius calls himself, in one of his cuneiform inscriptions, "an Aryan and of Aryan descent"; and in the Behistun inscription Ahuramazda, the great God of the Zoroastrians, is styled "the God of the Aryans." The Sassanian kings called themselves the kings of "Aryan and Unaryan Races," and the whole of Persia has for a long time borne the name of Irán. The Greek writers of old also frequently employed the term Aryan as a tribal designation. In Herodotus the Medes are described as a tribe of the *Arie*, who resided somewhere about the neighbourhood of modern Herat, a name which is generally believed to be derived from that of the forefathers of the Medes. Passing from the original home of the Aryans, the word occurs to the north-west of Persia in *Armenia* and *Albania*;—to the north of Persia on the Caucases as *Iron*, the native name of the Osti-

aks, the Circassian race of Pritchard; and on the bank of the Vistula as the name of a German tribe. The trail is still apparent in *Hellenes* as a corruption of Aryan; but further west we miss it until we reach the westernmost limit of the Ayran migration. To such of my readers as hail from Erin Mavourneen it will not be a small surprise that the name of their dearly loved native country is the same as that which the ancestors of the Hindus assigned to their own land. Ireland is no other than an English version of the Indian *Áryadesa* or *Áryaland.* The old word in Ireland was *eren* or *herin*, in the genetive *ereun* or *hereun*, whence *Erin* and *Hibern* or *Hibernicos.* Thus the word *Árya* in some form or other appears to have been the name of the race. And if the tribal name may be associated with the original home of the race, seeing that such was the case almost invariable in ancient times, that home must have been situated along the Hindu Kush, or the tract to the south of a line extending from Herat to Balkh and the western slopes of the Belurtag and Mustag, near the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, where Greek writers trace the site of ancient Aria.

George Rawlinson, in one of his essays on Herodotus, admits that "the great migration of the Aryan race westward from beyond the Indus, simultaneous probably with the movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindus, eastward and southward to the Ganges and the Vindhya mountain range, is an event of which the most sceptical criticism need not doubt; remote though it be, and obscurely seen through the long vista of intervening centuries. Where two entirely distinct lines of national tradition converge to a single point, and that convergence is exactly what philological research, in the absence of tradition, would have indicated, it seems impossible to suppose either coincidence or collusion among the witnesses."* But he is of opinion, "in

* Herodotus, I, p. 326.

the silence of authentic history, Armenia may be regarded as the most propable centre from which the Indo-European nations spread."* This hypothesis is, however, in direct conflict with the Pársí and the Hindu traditions above noticed, and is opposed to the opinion of men like Max Müller, Martin Haug, Wilson, and others who have devoted special attention to the subject, and whose authority carries the greatest weight.

It should be remarked here that the *Aria*, or ancient home of the Aryans as noticed above, is distinct from the *Ariana* of Strabo and other later Greek writers, which comprised the whole of Afghánistán and Beluchistán, being bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush ; on the south by the sea from the mouths of the Indus to the Persian Gulf ; on the east by the Indus ; and on the west by Persia. This tract comprised the ancient Gedrosia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Karmania, and a portion of Parthia. Its name is due most probably to the early extension of the Aryans to Afghánistán, but it was not the *locale* of their original dwelling. This fact has not always been borne in mind by some authors, and many gross mistakes have been the consequence.

The time when the Aryans confined themselves to the country north of the Hindu Kush must date considerably over five thousand years from our day. That at that time their habits, manners, customs and religion were of a very primitive type, must be obvious. It would seem from references in the Zendavesta that their community was divided into three castes or tribes, of which one lived by hunting, another by tending flocks of cattle, and the third by agriculture. In an early state of existence this three-fold division is the most probable. It implies a settled state of society considerably ahead of the primitive life of the occupiers of the lake habitations of Switzerland, but much behind that of the period

* Herodotus, I p. 505.

which produced the caste-system of the Egyptians, or of the Hindus. To translate the language of M. Flotard, "the life of the hunter was hard, rude and more or less violent ; that of the shepherd inactive, slothful and nomadic ; that of the agriculturist stable, normal and regular. The hunter and the shepherd were under the necessity of moving about in quest of game or fresh pasturage, and easily moveable dwellings or tents were best suited to their requirements ; the agriculturist remained attached to his field, built solid and fixed houses, and cultivated in his mind a profound sentiment of respect for religion and morality. The family and the tribe were the most dear to the nomads ; but the nation, the people, the country, and the city claimed the greatest consideration from the agriculturists." The arts of civilised life had so far been cultivated that the people could prepare fabrics of some kind or other from the wool of their flocks, and manufacuture pottery and arms to some extent. Gold and golden ornaments are frequently mentioned both in the Vedas and the Zendavesta, and these were probably not unknown in the primitive homes of the Aryans. Copper and iron too were known and used ; the latter probably but sparingly, as it could not then be worked to any extent ; but that it was known at a very early period is certain, for the Hellenic races did carry a knowledge of it from Aria, as the name of the metal is the same in the Greek and the Sanskrit languages.

Furs, skins and woollen fabrics constituted the only materials for clothing ; and the three castes, it is to be presumed, dressed very much alike, the nature of the climate they lived in having been opposed to a life of nudity. It may be fairly presumed that they were more profusely clothed than the gymnosophists of old, and the bulk of the Hindus in subsequent times.

In their food the three tribes necessarily differed widely

the hunters depending mainly on flesh meat, the shepherds and the agriculturists on the produce of their fields, supplemented by milk, with an occasional allowance of meat; for it must be borne in mind that many persons must have united in themselves the double profession of the shepherd and the agriculturist, and the produce of their flocks contributed to their living both on milk and flesh-meat. Fermented drinks were also well-known and partaken of, more largely by the hunters and shepherds than by the agriculturists, who in all countries and at all times are noted for their sobriety. The principal beverage of this class was the Soma beer; but arrack or undistilled fermented wheat or barley, which constituted the *surá* of the Vedic hymns, and is known under the name of arrack or *pacháwi* in our day, was also held in requisition.

À priori it might be argued that the Vedic Sanskrit with all its refinements and its numerous moods and tenses, could not have been developed by a primitive nation such as the Aryans were between four and five thousand years ago. But the facts disclosed by the researches of the philologists leave no room for doubt that the language of the Aryans had passed from the agglutinative to an inflectional state at a very early period, and much of the refinement and elaborate conjugational apparatus of the Vedic Sanskrit had been formed long before the Hellenic tribes had left the common home. The grammar of the Greek language could not have been so closely like that of the ancient Sanskrit had not the two descended from a single source. There was a common type from which one series of changes produced the Vedic language, and another series the Hellenic dialects. Nor is the co-existence of an elaborate and complicate system of inflections, conjugations, prefixes and suffixes at all incompatible with a primitive state of society. The highest number of changes which a verb undergoes in Sanskrit is limited to a little over two

hundred and fifty, whereas in some of the languages of the American Indians it rises to thousands. In one of the North American dialects the total number of changes which each radical is subjected to amounts to seven thousand five hundred, and if that does not militate against a very rude state of society among the tribe which speaks it, we need not be startled at two hundred and odd in the ancient Aryan.

Judging from the various myths extant, the conclusion is inevitable that the ancient Aryans did indulge much in poetry, and that metrical compositions of various kinds were current among them. Prosody was very carefully studied, and rules were laid down for a variety of metres, which were regularly named and classed. Many of these still exist in the hymns of the Ṛig Veda, and in the gáthás and other forms of poetry in the Zendavesta ; and they evince considerable taste and refinement. These doubtless are all religious compositions, but there are not wanting evidences in them of secular compositions ; such for instance is the song in the Ṛig Veda in which a dice-player bemoans his losses by gambling.

It is evident, however, that these metrical compositions were not originally written, and the Aryans knew not the art of writing. Had they done so, the alphabets of the different Aryan races would have preserved some traces of it ; but they do not. The ancient Greek letters differ entirely from the ancient Persian and Sanskrit writings, and the orders in which the letters are classed in the three languages are perfectly independent of each other. Viewed in connexion with the similitude which exists among the languages themselves this is a remarkable fact, and it leaves no room for doubt in the conclusion that has been drawn from it.

The remains of their languages afford incontestible evidence of the Aryans having cultivated the laws of morality and civil polity to a considerable extent. The law of marriage was early established, and the ties of blood most scru-

pulously respected. The extent to which marriage among blood-relations was forbidden was greater even than what is observed in civilised nations in the present day. The rights of property and inheritance were also fully recognised ; and theft, robbery, and fraud were punished by well established and fixed rules. A strong sense of right and wrong, of virtue and vice, was a prevailing characteristic of their moral life ; and abundant evidence is at hand to show that they led an honest, truthful and law-abiding career, guided by elders, chiefs, and kings, to whom they paid great respect, and whose orders they carried out with diligence.

The existence of kings implies a settled state of government ; and the mention of taxes, or the contributions of the people for its maintenance and for the common weal, is a clear indication of a political condition far in advance of a very primitive sort of life.

But the most important feature of their civilisation was their religion. Turning their minds from the requirements of their social existence, the Aryans early speculated largely in matters supernatural. "The lowest savages," says Sir John Lubbock, "have no idea of a deity at all. Those slightly more advanced regard him as an enemy to be dreaded, but who may be resisted with a fair prospect of success ; who may be cheated by the cunning, and defied by the strong. Thus the natives of tha Nicobar island endeavour to terrify their deity by scarecrows, and the Negro beats his fetish if his prayers are not granted. As tribes advance in civilisation their deities advance in dignity, but their power is still limited ; one governs the sea, another the land ; one reigns over the plains, another among the mountains. The most powerful are vindictive, cruel, and unjust. They require humiliating ceremonies and bloody sacrifices." That the earliest Aryans, like the lowest savages of our day, had no idea of God at all may be easily conceived ; that they subsequently

believed in cruel and vindictive gods or spirits whom they dreaded, and tried to cheat by cunning, may also be granted. The numerous gods and goddesses who people the Hindu and the Greek pantheons leave no doubt as to their having subsequently created a host of divinities presiding over the different elements, and natural phenomena ; a regent over the dry earth, and another over the waters ; a regent of the air, and a regent of the sky ; a god to preside over love, and another to be the arbiter of the battle-field ; one to judge of the living, another to judge of the dead. But all this implies a previous awakening of the religious sentiment, of a sense of the divine, of a yearning for a knowledge of the super-natural, apart from the worship of spirits whom men dread, and whose malevolence they wish to appease. With such a sentiment awakened the fire below, the sun above, the stars that bespangle the firmament, the elements whose commotions are so portentous of good or evil, are the principal objects which attract the attention of man. In them he beholds, according to his light, either the primary causes of all things, or the visible emblems of the unknown Great Cause.

But when the religious faculty is once quickened, the human mind cannot rest satisfied with the idea of the elements themselves being the end it sought. No person can feel that the breeze that fans his face, or the tangible fire that cooks his food, or the avalanche that hurls down death and desolation from the mountain-top, is itself the living sentient cause of creation, or vital phenomena. Something more is wanted, a sentient substratum for the material emblem ; and as the spirit, apart from the body but dwelling within the body, is manifest to man in his own person, he vivifies the sun, the moon, and the stars, the trees of the forest, and the waters of the sea, the earth he inhabits, and the sky over his head, each with a separate vital spark ; and according to the extent to which this process is carried,

religion becomes fetishism, sabeism, pantheism, or polytheism. In the earlier states of such a religion the gods are necessarily vague, undefined, and impersonal, pertaining the character of the religious sentiments which create them; but the mind, once roused, is never satisfied with such hazy creations, and soon endows each spirit with a separate form and attributes befitting its emblem, and polytheism is the result. Next comes deification of poetical imagery, or individualisation of metaphors and allegories; and lastly the apotheosis of heroes and patriarchs, completing the gallery of the spiritual pantheon. There is a spirit of anthropomorphism in all this; and the affairs of the earth are reproduced in heaven with such exaggerations and alterations as the mind engaged in the task is capable of, and this human idea of heaven ultimately creates a necessity for a king. That king is God, be he adored in unity, in trinity, or in multiplicity.

Thus religion owes its origin to a faculty that is within us, and to a sentiment founded on moral ties; a yearning for the unknown, which is spontaneous in its birth, and thrives capriciously of its own accord, though governed by advancing civilisation. The conception is *sui generis*, and has its own allotted course. But " even as the idea of absolute beauty is the base of art, and the idea of good is the foundation of morality and justice, so from this idea of divinity proceed all religion, all worship, all adoration. It is the embryo which contains in germ all systems of religion, which burst forth from it diversely according to circumstances"; and the question in connexion with my theme is how and to what extent did it develop among the Aryans? I have already shown that it had manifested itself in the form of polytheism. But it did not stop there. Among some of the people it remained as fetishism or sabeism, among others it was polytheism, while others rose above the gods and goddesses of

their pantheon, and conceived and believed in the existence of an omnipotent, omniscient, and beneficent being, the creator and ruler of all—of one Supreme God whose mercy and grace they sought by prayers and solemn hymns. This belief in the unity of the Godhead formed a cardinal point in their creed, and they adhered to it with all the tenacity of their faith under very different and trying circumstances. It seems, however, not to have attained the fixity and uncompromising firmness with which the Vedántic pantheist announced "One Alone, without a second." The conception of the One Supreme arising out of the many subordinate divinities, did not preclude the existence of the latter. They were gods, of lower ranks, but nevertheless they were gods, supreme in their respective spheres. Zoroaster, with his ardent monotheistic zeal, and implacable hatred of the Vedic system of gods and goddesses, could not get rid of them altogether when completing his reformation of the ancient faith. He changed them into angels or spirits, good and bad, but could not entirely repudiate their existence. Other founders and reformers of religious codes of former times, found the same difficulty, and had to submit to a compromise of some kind or other. The Vedas rose as high as possible when they said: "God was one alone, without a second," and His divine, reflection vivified all living beings, whether gods, demons or mundane creatures, thus creating a wide gulf between the creator and the created; but they nowhere denied or repudiated the existence of the subordinate Devas. Even Muhammad, the most inveterate champion of divine unity, who proclaimed with all the energy of his ardent enthusiasm "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet," had to permit a celestial hierarchy of angels and archangels to carry out the behests of the Supreme Divinity; and it is not to be supposed that the primitive Aryans in their original home did more, and believed in a Unity, implying a total abnegation

of all other celestial existences—one sole cause of the creation without any intermediate divine or celestial agencies. That they believed in a Supreme God is evident from the Zendavesta and the myths which they have bequeathed to their descendants in India, Persia, and Greece.

M. Flotard, on whose interesting work on the "Primitive Religion of the Indo-Europeans," I have so often indented in course of this essay, says that the name of this Supreme Being was not always the same among the Aryan tribes, but that it changed as often as the idea of the Being was modified. "What the changes were we cannot make out, for one new attribute added to the name of a divinity, one proper name modified, indicates an entire religious transformation in primitive times;" and it is impossible to draw any conclusion from records avowedly posterior to what existed long before they were compiled. Agni, Yama or Yima, Kavi, Mitra, Indra, Asura (or Ahura), Vahumáno, Mazdaha appear to have been applied to him at one time or other, but it is impossible now to ascertain their order.

Nor were the attributes assigned to the Great Spirit always the same. "The warrior and hunter tribes," says our author, "took him to be cruel, warlike, and fond of carnage; among the shepherds he preserves something of his bellicose character, but he is at the same time a spirit, 'protector of flocks,' an epithet applied to several divinities by the Vedas and the Yaçna. For the agriculturists this god, the source of all life, and of all fecundity, was the hidden and divine spirit which presides over the labours of the field, protecting the property and the welfare of the cultivators." (p. 139.)

"As to the form under which the Aryans represented this Supreme divinity there appears to have existed a certain amount of unity among them. They all equally beheld in fire and in light a representation or manifestation of the Divinity. The flame, in all its forms, that of a spark ejected

from two pieces of wood rubbed against each other, or majestically scintillating from the stars suspended from the celestial vault, was for them an image of the divinity."

"However, here again was manifested the diversity of the genius and imagination of the tribes; for whilst some saw in fire, in light, in the sun, the Divinity itself, or at least its exterior representative, which they worshipped under the names of Agni, Mitra, Vivaswan; others of a more elevated intellect and spiritual character considered the fire only as a means or manifestation of divine revelation. It is specially under this attribute that the Iranians rendered their worship to the fire: for them Ahura and truth revealed themselves through the flame." (p. 139.)

But even more important than the fire was the sun—that visible emblem of the invisible Divinity. To it they looked up with the profoundest veneration, as the author of life and light, and never ceased to offer it their most fervent worship. Religious differences and dogmatic philosophy gradually led to the ranks of the other gods being raised or lowered, but the sun never lost an atom of its glory as *the* most sacred emblem of the Divinity. Both the Pársís and the Hindus continued, long after their separation, and still continue, to look upon it as the greatest God. The latter went further, and apprehensive lest its rising and setting should detract from its glory, denied that it ever rose or set.*

* The passage in which this denial is made, is a remarkable one as it was conceived on the Copernican idea of the solar system, at least two thousand years before the birth of Copernicus. It runs thus: "The sun does never set or rise. When people think the sun is setting (it is not so;) for after having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below, and day to what is on the other side. When they believe it rises in the morning (this supposed rising is thus to be accounted for). Having reached the end of the night it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making day to what is below and night to what is on the other side. In fact the sun never sets. Nor does it set for him who has such a knowledge. Such a one

The form of worship was simple and primitive; "it was celebrated by hymns and prayers accompanied by the offering of the products of the flocks and the fruits of the earth, near the family hearth, or on the altars of the lawn. For many centuries no monuments needed to serve as an asylum for the simple manifestations of the religious aspirations of the heart. The universe was the only temple worthy the grandeur of the Supreme Being; the vault of heaven was the only shelter for the ceremonies celebrated in His honour by the chief of the family, who was the high-priest, the foremost chanter, and the first prophet of the divinity. It would have been a sin to represent the creator by the combination of art, or of human imagination; it would have been a sacrilege to make any material representation of the divine powers. The general character of this cultus in this religious age, which may be rightly designated by the title of the *Primitive Church*, and of which we find traces in the traditions of all the nations of the earth, was the absence of temples, of idols, and of religious monuments of every kind. This usage, this thought of the patriarchal world, became subseqently the subject of positive prescriptions, and the religious canon of the Hebrews announced especially and in terms precise and solemn: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself, nor serve them." (Flotard, p. 135.)

The belief seems to have been general that this Divine Being was opposed by certain malevolent spirits who were at constant war with him. They were always trying to frustrate his designs, to upset the moral order of his creation, and lead mankind to mischief of every kind. This was the inevitable

becomes united with the sun, assumes its form, and enters its place." Haug's *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, p. 242.

result of the inability on the part of the people to grasp the idea of creation and government by fixed natural laws. God is kind and beneficent to his creatures ; He is their constant and ever-vigilant protector ; He cannot send among them plagues and storms and inundations ; and yet plagues and storms and inundations are common. The question arises in the minds of the simple people, whence come they ?—and they answer it by creating a set of wicked spirits whose type we have in the hero of the Paradise Lost—" a dualistic element corresponding to the Pársí doctrine of an active principle as well of good as of evil—of a kingdom of Ahriman as well as a kingdom of Ormuzd." Of these I shall have to say something more when treating of the schism which separated the Hindus from the Persians.

How long the people, whom I have above described, dwelt in their original home it is imposible now to determine. Nor is it possible at this distance of time to say precisely when they first began to disperse. As they multiplied and agriculture began to extend, the hunters were the first to feel the necessity of spreading wider and wider in quest of game. Probably religious differences also contributed to push them on. To the east the Turanian races were already thick and crowded, and there is no vestige of their having spread beyond Dardistan in that direction. The north, the west and the south were the sides which were most open to them, and there is ample evidence to show that they did push on by all the three routes. The migrations were made, not in one body by each route, but in successive swarms spreading over many centuries, progressing step by step, and forming colonies along the whole route in all eligible localities.

Taking the northern route, though it was probably not the first which was adopted by the Aryans, the first colonists we come across are the Mesagetæ. Proceeding thence in a westerly direction we enter Europe, and there we meet with three distinct

families of Aryan origin, the Sclavonic, the Lithuanian and the Teutonic : regarding each of these a few details are necessary.

The Sclavonic nations include the old Sclavonic, the Russian, the Servian, the Croatic, the Wendic, the Slovak, and the Pole. "In the ancient world," according to Bunsen, "this great, powerful, and much divided family is represented by the *Sauromata* of the Greeks, or the *Sarmatæ* of the Romans, a nation living on the Don and near the Caspian Sea."* Herodotus says that they spoke a faulty Scythian dialect that points clearly to the source whence they had come to Europe.

The Lithuanians differed in many respects from the Sclavs, and Bunsen is of opinion that the ancient Prussian represents the most perfect form of their language, in some points nearer to the Sanskrit than any other existing tongue.†

"The Teutonic nations may be divided into two branches, the Scandinavian and the German. The language of the former is preserved in its most ancient form in the Icelandic ; the Swedish and Danish are the modern daughters of the Old Norse language of Scandinavia. The second is the German, now the language of the whole of Germany, and almost the whole of Switzerland. Its northern or Saxon form has received a peculiar individuality in the Flemish and Dutch tongues ; and by the emigrations which took place in the fifth century of our era, has become (mixed with French words since the Norman conquest) the prevalent and leading language of the British Isles, and is becoming now, by the emigrations which began in the seventeenth century, and are still continuing, that of the northern continent of America. The southern German tribes have successively formed, with a greater or less infusion of words into the Latin groundwork, the Italian, French, and Spanish languages."‡ According-

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* Phil. Hist., II, p. 6. † Ibid, I, p. 8. ‡ Ibid, II, p. 8.

ing to Hauslab's Routes, appended to Ujfalvy's *Migrations des Touraniens* the Mesagetæ are confined to the borders of Lake Aral; and the Sclavonian, Lithuanian, and Teutonic nations are made to take a southerly direction from Asia to Persia, thence onwards in two streams one across the Caucasus, and the other across Asia Minor, to Europe. Much may be said in favour of the Caucasian colony coming from Persia and thence proceeding to Europe; but there is nothing to contradict the position assumed by Bunsen of the Mesagetic branch having taken a westerly course across the Ural rivert It is certain that the Turanians did enter Europe by tha. route, and it was not at all impossible for the Mesagetæ to accomplish what the Turanians had done before them. Seeing the marked differences which existed between the Hellenic branch of the Aryans and the Teutons, it is to be presumed that the separation among them took place at a much earlier date than after the sojourn of the Aryans in Asia Minor.

Once in Europe the pugnacious warlike habits, hardy constitution, and superior civilisation, of the emigrant hunters, enabled them to overcome and gradually to exterminate the aboriginal races they encountered, who, to judge from the remains of the owners of the Lake habitations of Switzerland, were evidently of inferior physique and courage. Looking to the rapidity with which the Indians of North America have all but disappeared before the tide af European aggression, it is not difficult to conceive how such a process of extermination was consummated by the ancestors of those Europeans in the heart of Europe. Their original warlike instincts improved with their progress towards the west, and their descendants still retain them to perfection.

Turning now to the direct western route from Aria, we first come to Persia which soon became a part of the Aryan home. Thence may be traced four different streams of emi-

grations proceeding westwards, and forming most important nationalities, *viz.*, the Celtic, the Thracian, the Armenian and the Hellenico-Italian. The earliest of these was the Celtic nation, which travelled the farthest from their original abode. "It appears to me," says Dr. Charles Meyer, in his essay on the last results of the Celtic Researches, "that the Celtic nation transported itself from Asia, and more particularly from Asiatic Scythia, to Europe and to this country by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, thus forming two great streams of migration, which flow as it were periodically. The one, proceeding in a south-western direction, through Syria and Egypt, and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the Pillars of Hercules, and, passing on through Spain to Gaul, there divided itself into three branches. The northern branch terminated in Great Britain and Ireland; the southern in Italy; and the eastern running along the Alps, and the Danube, terminated near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream may probably have originated. The other great stream, taking a more direct course, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and from thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia (the Polena of the Sagas and Pwyl of the Triads), and through Northern Germany, reached this country, and thence the more western and northern islands across the German Ocean or hazy sea (Mortawch)."*

It is worthy of note that travelling from Asia along the northern border of Africa as far as the pillars of Hercules these people left no trail on their route, and not a vestige is to be found of an Aryan colony along the whole line. This, however, may be easily accounted for: the Semitic races they encountered in their way were too powerful for them, and their colonists, such as they left behind, were swept away by

* Bunsen, Phil. Hist., I, p. 148.

their antagonists. M. Hauslab takes them across the Hellespont, and not by the southern shore of the Mediterranean. There is nothing, however, of weight sufficient to support such a theory. On the contrary the linguistic differences of the Celtic and the Hellenic tribes clearly show that the Celtic stream never intermingled in their western course, such as a route across Greece would imply.

The second branch is the Thracian or Illyrian. According to Bunsen it "once spread on the Dnieper, the Hellespont, and in Asia Minor, in which countries it was followed, and partly supplanted, by the Pelasgian, or ante-historical formation of the Hellenic. Dr. Paul Boetlicher, in his 'Africa,' (1850,) applied Burnouf's theory to the Thracian languages, and to those of Asia Minor; by which method he was enabled to prove from the words preserved to us by the Greeks, that the Phrygians, the Malonians, or Irnic Lydians, and the Western Cappadocians are, as well as the Thracians, next in kin to the Arians proper, the Persians, and the Bactrians. The languages of the Epirots and Macedonians belong to this family, which is now presented in those countries by the Skipetarian, the language of the Albanians or Arnauts."*

In point of time the Armenian nation should have precedence of the last in their settlement in their new abode, but in enterprise they are subordinate to it.

The fourth branch is the Hellenico-Italic, or the Greek and Roman, formed by successive waves proceeding from Asia Minor partly across the Hellespont to Greece and thence onwards in a north-westerly course towards Northern Italy, and partly over the sea from island to island till it peopled the southern parts of that peninsula. In the absence of all remains of Etruscan tongue, it is doubtful whether the race which spoke it belonged to the Italic group of the Aryans; but its history, as far as accessible, would support such a theory.

* Bunsen, Phil. Hist., II, p. 7.

I now come to the southern route or Afghánistán. It would seem that, notwithstanding the many swarms which had gone out by the first two routes, the Aryan hive was getting more and more crowded every day, and the shepherds and the agriculturists felt the necessity of extending the boundary of their original country, or, in other words, of spreading themselves towards the south. This movement, it may be surmised, was to some extent promoted by the pressure of the Turanians from the east, who had already travelled across Asia and Persia to Egypt, and were still pushing on and on. Certain it is that the Aryans had occupied the best portion of Afghánistán before the time of Zoroaster, and made it an integral portion of ancient Aria. How long they dwelt there we know not; but it was long enough to have sent a portion of their superabundant population across the Indus to the valley of the Five Waters.

The relation of the agriculturists with the shepherds was not always of the most peaceful kind. Their respective habits of life were such as to make them antagonistic to each other. The shepherds had the most frequent opportunities of indulging in animal food and fermented drink, and they did not fail to make the most of those opportunities. The agriculturists were necessarily driven to depend principally on the produce of their fields, and they subsisted on a vegetable diet. The former thought that their gods were best served by offerings of sanguinary sacrifices and libations of intoxicating Soma; the latter offered the fruits of the earth and unfermented Soma to their gods. The one indulged in cattle lifting and marauding excursions; the other loved a life of peace and security, scrupulously mindful of the rights of private property and the laws of morality. The attributes of their gods under such circumstances necessarily became very dissimilar. A bold, daring, wrathful, warlike god best suited the requirements of the shepherds; a mild, gentle, peaceful, righteous

being was most in harmony with the disposition of the agriculturists. The difference in the attributes of their gods created a difference in religion, and it was impossible that under the circumstances the two classes could pull well together. Their differences were heightened by priests and reformers, until they culminated in a religious schism of a most sanguinary character.

In the oldest Veda the word Deva is generally used for gods, and the antiquity of that word is fully attested by its presence in the Greek and the Roman tongues ; but it appears that another term was also occasionally used. This was Asura. According to Professor Max Müller's Index to the Ṛig Veda, the latter term occurs twenty-six times as an epithet for Indra, Agni, Váyu, Pushan, Marut, or some other divinity, in the sense of 'the mighty one,' the word being derived from the root *as* to exist. It also occurs several times as an opprobrious term, implying an enemy of Indra, who is styled *Asuraghna*, or "the destroyer of mighty ones," *i.e.*, demons. In the Nirukta it is explained as 'cloud.' (1-10.) But in the Bráhmaṇas it is invariably the name of a class of demons with whom the gods are always at war. In the Chhándogya Upanishad of the Sáma Veda there is a story which represents Indra, the chief of the Devas, and Vairochana, the chief of the Asuras, as fellow-students, seeking of Prajápati knowledge of the soul, and from what they learnt the former became a spiritualist and the latter a sensualist. In the Bráhmaṇas the wars of the two earliest races form the ever-recurring theme for expatiation, and everywhere are the gods extolled for all that is good and great and noble, and the Asuras condemned for everything that is wicked, though the fact of the Devas having been frequently worsted by their enemies is not suppressed. The reverse of this occurs in the Zendavesta. There the Asuras, in the Zend form Ahuras, are all that is good and virtuous, and the Devas, in

the Zend form Deos, are the demons. The former are the good and white spirits, and the latter the black spirits of heaven. Even as Satan and his followers are represented in the Mosaic record as in antagonism with God and his angels, so are the Deos ever at war with Ahuras according to the Zendavesta. But in the former case is indicated the antagonism of spiritualism against sensualism, of virtue against vice; in the latter we have unmistakably the tradition preserved of the feuds and wars of two rival sectaries. The identity of names and the history of the two nations render this conclusion inevitable. We cannot but behold in them the followers of the Ahuras and the Devas, mutually retaliating by condemning each other's gods as demons, and fighting for supremacy. How long these wars lasted it is impossible now to ascertain; but it is unquestionable that they wrought, on the one hand, the establishment of the Zoroastrian religion with Ahuramazda, or chief Asura, for god, and a host of Ahuras of inferior rank as ministers, receiving fruits and unfermented Soma from their votaries as offerings; and, on the other, the expulsion of the bulk of the shepherd tribe from Afghánistán with their pantheon headed by Indra, and the cultus which required animal sacrifices and libations of fermented liquors. These latter are the ancestors of the Bráhmaṇic Aryans. In India they found a congenial, peaceful home for the exercise of their peculiar form of worship, and a neighbourhood of rude Támilians whom they never dreaded, and could always despise. The original idea of the sanctity of fire remained unaltered among both the sects. The Mazdehans continued to cherish the perpetual sacred fire, and so did the Bráhmaṇs until a very recent period. The sun also remained the most sacred emblem of god among both; but the change in the names of their gods and demons sufficed to cut their social bonds completely asunder. It may offend the self-love of the Bráhmaṇs to be told that the

celestial wars resulted in the final overthrow of *Indra*, or, in other words, that their ancestors were expelled from their ancient home by the followers of Asuras, and compelled to find a new dwelling in a foreign country ; but their traditions and their sacred scriptures coupled with those of the Pársís render the inference unavoidable. The Pársís, too, in their turn, have found it necessary to forsake the ancient hearth of their forefathers to save themselves from a new tide of fanaticism, and to seek an asylum in the land to which they had once driven their adversaries. The Celts and the Teutons, whose patriarchs were the first to go forth from the land of their birth, have also made their appearance in this country. The descendants of the long-separated hunters, shepherds, and agriculturists of ancient Asia have once again met on one common ground, and it is to be earnestly desired that their reunion in India will prove conducive to their mutual advancement, and that, forgetting their ancient feuds, they will light the calumet of peace, and, establishing a new era of civilisation, dwell in brotherly love with each other.

XXI.

ORIGIN OF THE SANSKRIT ALPHABET.

(The following remarks, made at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in February 1867, on a letter of E. Thomas, Esq., are now reprinted with reference to an interesting article on the subject lately published by Professor Dowson in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.)

Mr. Thomas's theory—its logical defect. No ancient writing extant peculiar to the Dravidians. The character of the aborigines in olden times. Theory of Phœnician origin of the Bráhmanic alphabet. The Páli shows no signs of a Bactrian origin, nor is it in any way related to the Dravidian dialects. Bactrian, a political alphabet. It is of too recent a date to be supposed the earliest medium for writing Sanskrit. The fulness of Páli opposed to the theory of its Tamilian origin. Forms of some of the letters. Theory of non-Aryan origin of cerebral letters refuted. Influence of climate on literal sounds. Loan theory refuted. Mr. Bayley's remarks. Reply thereto.

THE general position laid down by Mr. Thomas in his letter to the Asiatic Society of Bengal is that "the Aryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were, in all their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid which they settled for their instruction in the science of writing." He instances the Persian cuneiform, the Greek, the Latin, the Zend, the Pehlevi, and the Devanágarí, as alphabets borrowed by the Aryans. It is to the last that I wish to confine myself for the present, as it is to it that I have, in my humble way, directed my attention for some time.

It has been said that if the Aryans did not elsewhere originate an alphabet, it is not likely that they should do so in India, and that if they always borrowed elsewhere, it is to be presumed that they did so also in this country. But such a line of argument is neither logical nor fair. The Aryan

race migrated from their cradle-land at different times under very different circumstances, and it is not to be supposed that their intellectual condition should remain alike at all times and under all circumstances. As far as is known, the Hellenic and the Teutonic Aryans left their common home at a very early period, and the Indians the latest. There would be nothing inconsistent or illogical, therefore, in the supposition that the later colonists went forth in a more advanced social condition than their predecessors, having originated a system of alphabetic writing. But supposing, and most probably such was the case, that they came to India before they had discovered the art of writing, there is nothing to prevent a highly intellectual race from doing so in their adopted country. Indeed the stability of the major of Mr. Thomas is entirely dependent upon the issue of this minor; if it can be shewn that the Hindus did succeed in devising a system of alphabetic writing without borrowing from their neighbours, the general proposition must break down, and the enquiry therefore may, without fear of error, be confined to India.

Now, in India the Aryans came in contact with the Dravidian aborigines, and Mr. Thomas therefore supposes that they must have got their alphabet from those aborigines. But there is not a shadow of historical evidence to shew that those aborigines had a written literature at the time when the Aryans came to this country, or for some time after it. Nobody has yet discovered a Dravidian book or inscription sufficiently old to justify such a presumption, nor is there a single tradition extant of there ever having existed a Dravidian literary composition, either sacred or profane, of a pre-Vedic era. The ancient history of the Dravidians, apart from the Aryans, is a blank. All that we know of them is from the writings of the Bráhmaṇs, and in those writings we find them to have been the very reverse of a literary race.

The aborigines alluded to are the Coles, the Bheels, and the Minahs of our day—the rude primitive people who inhabit our woods and wilds, and contend with the tiger of our jungles for a precarious existence. They might have been more civilized before: that some of them owned houses and fortified places, large herds, and stores of gold, is susceptible of proof: but the only source of information accessible to us of these prehistoric times are the Vedas, the oldest Aryan records extant, and they describe them to have been, in the days of the Bráhmaṇic Ṛishis, barbarians of the lowest type, and our poets confounded them with monkeys and satyrs—or wild men of the woods—who were not to be included in the pale of humanity. Some of the epithets used in the Vedas to indicate the aborigines are remarkable. The Ṛig Veda describes them as *Mṛidhravách*, or "of imperfect speech." Elsewhere they are said to be *Anása*, or "mouthless" or "speechless." Some Ṛishis condemned them as "priestless and hymnless, fit only to be slain." In short, if any faith is to be put in the Vedic narratives regarding the social condition of the people of India in primitive times, we must accept the bulk of the aborigines to have been in a state of society in which leaves and bark supplied the place of clothing, the shade of trees served for boudoirs, and hollows and caverns occupied the place of bedrooms. And all this at a time when the Bráhmaṇs had lofty houses, fine clothing, gold ornaments, horses and cars, iron implements, divers arts, poets, astronomers and musicians, in short, everything indicating a tolerably advanced state of civilization. Admitting that they had not come to the art of writing, was it likely that their naked neighbours should have come to it? If we trace the growth and history of the Aryan colonization in India, we are led to the conclusion that the Aryans continued steadily to advance, and the Dravidians to recede and decay. The Aryans gradually became the masters of the finest provinces, and the

Dravidians partly betook themselves to jungles and mountain fastnesses, partly got incorporated with the intrusive population, and partly submitted to them as bond slaves, living out of the bounds of their cities and owning no property. This degradation, physical and moral, was not a state of things which would help the Dravidians to take the start of the Aryans, and devise the means of recording literary composition, which the latter should fail to achieve.

It may be said that the Aryans reviled the aborigines from a lofty sense of their own superiority, and called them *asiknis* or "blackies," very much in the same spirit in which the roughs among their own conquerors call them "niggers" in the present day, and that they were not the repositories of everything that is vile, as they are described to have been. But it is the very gist of the present enquiry to ascertain the relation of the two races in the scale of civilization, and it would be begging the question to say that the Dravidians originated the art of writing, and the Aryans borrowed it. It would be a mere statement without any reliable evidence to support it, no more than to support the theory that the Sanskrit grammar was elaborated at Taxila and not elsewhere in the Panjab, or even in Brahmavarta.

Mr. Thomas assumes that the Bráhmaṇic Aryans first constructed an alphabet in the Arianian provinces out of an archaic type of Phœnician, which they continued to use, until they discovered the superior fitness and capabilities of the local Páli. He states that he has been collecting proofs of this for some time past, and each fresh enquiry more and more confirms his early impression. It is a matter of regret that the published report of his lecture does not give any of his evidences, and I am at a loss, therefore, to know on what grounds he takes the Aryan alphabet to have been elaborated in the Arianian provinces before the Bráhmaṇs came to India. That alphabet may be a Bactrian adaptation from the

Phœnician, but the question is,—when did the Bráhmaṇs first use it? The oldest Aryan record extant is long subsequent to Buddhism; none that I know of dates before the Páli edicts of Aira at Udayagiri; and there is nothing to bridge over the gap of at least some fifteen to eighteen hundred years between that time and the period when the Bráhmaṇs dwelt in Bactria.

Then as to the Páli, it is evident that it existed in the country long before the time of As'oka. The different shapes under which the same letters of the Páli alphabet appear at Junaghar and Dhaüli are marked and peculiar, and they cannot be accounted for by any candid enquirer, except on the supposition that long usage had brought on local peculiarities. The allusions to alphabetic writing in Páṇini and other purely Indian pre-Buddhist authors point, likewise, to an Indian, and not to a Bactrian alphabet. Again, the oldest Sanskrit inscription that has yet been found is recorded in the Páli (the Junagarh inscription of As'oka) and not in the Aryan letters; indeed no Sanskrit inscription has yet been met with in the Aryan character. The Páli, besides, is a vernacular form of the Sanskrit—the first stage in its transition to the Prákṛit—and the alphabet used to write it down may more reasonably be taken to be its legitimate vehicle, and not that of the Dravidian, of which no inscription of any kind, either old or new, has yet been discovered in the Páli character. Indeed, I can see no connexion whatever between the Dravidian languages and the Páli character. The name Páli is derived from the Sanskrit *páli* a house or *palli* a village, meaning a domestic or village dialect, that is the vernacular, which was not necessarily, nor even probably, Dravidian. But were we to leave all philological proofs aside, and admit the northern Indian vernacular of former days to have been Dravidian, still it must be borne in mind that that name has been recently given to it by Europeans, and therefore it cannot be used as an argument in favour of, or against, the question at

issue. Prinsep called the character Lâṭ; had he named it Sanskrit it would have obviated much unnecessary discussion. The giant, in short, is of our own creation, and we can destroy it in any way we like.

As to the Bactrian, those characters flourished conterminously with the Páli for writing a Sanskritic vernacular in the trans-Indus Provinces, and that too at a time when those provinces were under Bactrian supremacy, it is very rarely met with in the chief seats of the Bráhmaṇs, and the natural inference would be, that political influence led to the use of a foreign alphabet in writing down a Sanskritic vernacular—a Sir Charles Trevelyan of the time enforcing a pet system of Bactrianism. The Roman letters are now being used for writing many Indian dialects. Until recently many up-country Hindus wrote, and indeed even to this day write, their Hindi in Persian character. I have seen more than one Hindi book printed in Arabic letters. Sheikh Sádi, the Persian moralist, wrote his rekhtá verses—that is Hindi—in Persian; and well may have Bactrian satraps got the Indian vernacular of their time written in their own national character. At any rate the use of the Bactrian to record the Páli edicts of As'oka in the Usafzai country, (and that is the oldest instance of the use of the Bactrian,) can in no way prove the antiquity of the Bactrian to be higher than that of the Páli, as the medium of writing down Sanskrit.

One remarkable fact which proves the Bráhmaṇic origin of the Páli alphabet is its fullness. It contains a number of letters,—aspirates, sibilants and long vowels,—which no Támilian language has ever had any occasion to use. Had the alphabet been designed by the Támils, these would never have been devised. Mr. Thomas, in the letter under notice, has accounted for them by supposing that the Dravidians had them not, and that the Bráhmaṇs added them to adapt the alphabet to their use. Had such been the case, there would

have been some trace in the formation of the letters to indicate their origin under different states of civilization. Such, however, is entirely wanting. The aspirated letters in the simplicity of their configuration differ in no respect from the surds and the sonants. The one set appears to have been produced by the same intellectual effort as the other, and the two are of character exactly alike. I admit that three out of the ten aspirates, viz., *chh*, *ṭh* and *ph* appear to be duplications or modifications of the surds *ch*, *ṭ* and *p*, but they constitute scarcely one-third of the total; the rest of which are perfectly independent in design and shape. Mr. Thomas thinks the *bh* to be an inconsistent development upon the basis of the old *d*, but there is no reason to show why the aspirated sonant of the labial class should be formed on the model of the unaspirated sonant of the dental, instead of the same letter of its own class. I cannot, therefore, admit the argument to be of any value. Again the *s* is supposed to be an adaptation of the *y*, "produced by the reversal of its leading lower limb." But the question remains unanswered, why the *s* should be formed on the model of *y* to which it bears no phonetic resemblance whatsoever, instead of any other letter? The hypothesis in this case involves another difficulty; it assumes that the Sanskrit first coined only one *s* sound, leaving it to be inferred that the other two sibilants were introduced into the language a long time after, when we know for certain that the Sanskrit originally had three sibilants, two of which it lost in the Prákṛits. As to the vowels, nothing can be more natural than that the long and the short sounds of the same kind should be indicated by slight modifications of the same figure. I cannot conceive that, to account for them, it is necessary to assume their origin at different times under the influence of different nationalities. Those who can devise a system of alphabetic writing may safely be presumed to have sufficient intelligence

to make the same letter do duty for both a long and a short sound by a slight modification.

One other argument in favour of the Támilian origin of the Sanskrit alphabet I have now to notice: it is the use of what are called cerebral or lingual letters. It has been said that the Aryans never used cerebral letters; we do not find them in the Zend, the Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic; *ergo* they should not be found in the Sanskrit; but since they are, they must have been taken from the Támilians. But the major premise in this argument is not tenable. The cerebral latters used in the Sanskrit are *ṛ*, *r*, *sh*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, and *ṇ*. Of these, *r* and *sh* are common to all the Aryan languages, and that is enough to shew that the general premise is founded on a mistake, and the deduction from it consequently cannot be accepted as true. It is possible, some might tell me, that by cerebrals Messrs. Caldwell, Norris and Thomas allude to *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh and ṇ*, and not to all the letters of that class. This shifting of the ground would scarcely be fair in argument; but, accepting the premise on this narrow basis, I think there is not proof sufficient to support it. We know not whether the old fire-worshippers pronounced their *t* as ট and not ত, nor do we know the sound that letter had among the Greeks and the Romans, for the Greek as pronounced now is not the Greek that was; and were old Homer to appear among the dons of Oxford or Cambridge, he would be almost as unintelligible to the Porsons of our day, as he would be to the people of this country. Leaving the Zend, the Greek and the Latin as uncertain, if we turn to the Teutonic and the Sclavonic, we find the cerebral consonants by no means unknown. The low German along the shore of the Baltic has them, and they are dominant in the Scandinavian, the Russian and the Lithuanian. In the English the ত is unknown, and, notwithstanding the dictum of grammarians that the English *t* is a dental, it is rarely that an

Englishman can pronounce the sound of ত. With him ট is the only letter known, and he uses it both for ট and ত.

Mr. Norris in his paper on the "Scythic Tablets" of Behistun, accounts for the presence of *ṭ* (ট) in the Scandinavian and the Icelandic, by supposing it to have been borrowed from the Lapp—a Tartar language; but I imagine he will not try to assign to the same cause the origin of the English *t*. Were he to do so, he would have to prove, in the first place, that nations can borrow sounds, and secondly, that the Anglo-Saxons really did so. It is well-known that physical and social causes may lead to the loss of certain sounds in a language. The Bráhmaṇic Aryan originally had a guttural *q*, which the enervating influence of India soon softened down to the modern ক=*k*. In our own day, the Persians and the Moghals in Bengal lost the guttural ق in the course of a single generation. Aspirates and compound consonants are being constantly softened down through the agency of that and like causes, and often without any apparent cause whatever. Indeed, this tendency in languages to soften and wear out and arrange themselves in new forms, is the chief agency in the formation of new dialects, and with its aid we can easily account for the absence of particular letters in particular languages. But there is no proof, on the other hand, to show that nations can borrow sounds. Professor Bühler, of Púná, in a learned paper on the "Sanskrit Linguals," published in the Journal of the Madras Asiatic Society, justly observes :

"Regarding the borrowing of sounds, it may suffice for the present to remark that it never has been shown to occur in the languages which were influenced by others in historical times, such as English, Spanish, and the other Romance languages, Persian, &c. Let us consider the case of the English. Though half of its words have been imported by the Norman race, though most of the old Saxon inflections have perished in the struggle between the languages of the con-

queror and the conquered, though in some instances even Norman affixes have entered the organism of the original language, the quietism of the Saxon organs of speech has opposed a passive and successful resistance to the introduction of foreign sounds. The English has received neither the clear French *a*, nor its *u*, nor its peculiar nasals. On the contrary it has well preserved its broad, impure vowels and diphthongs, and it is now as difficult for the Englishman to pronounce the French *a*, or *u*, as it was for his Saxon ancestors eight hundred years ago. But we find still stronger evidence against the loan-theory in the well-known fact, that nations which, like the Jews, the Pársís, the Slavonic tribes of Germany, the Irish, etc., have lost their mother-tongues, are, as nations, unable to adopt, with the words and grammatical laws, also the pronunciation of the foreign language. They adapt its sounds to their own phonetic system, and their peculiarities are recognisable even after the lapse of centuries."

In North America the Negro population has no other vernacular besides the English, but the man would be bold indeed, who would say that the Negroes have mastered the English pronunciation as well as the English language. In this country the Afghans, the Persians, and the Moghals have failed, in seven hundred years, to acquire the peculiarities of the Indian vernacular sounds, and the Hindus, in a like period, have equally failed to utter the Persian ع and ق. Other instances may be adduced *ad libitum*, but they are, I believe, not necessary. The point at issue is to show that sounds have been borrowed, and not to prove the negative. I shall leave the subject, therefore, to those who advocate the loan-theory under notice. I may observe, however, that even if it be possible to prove its possibility, it will make but small progress in supporting the conjecture that the Eastern Aryans never had any cerebral letter in their language. The

Sanskrit has for its basis between 1800 and 1900 verbal roots, which, by an ingenious series of inflections, agglutinations, affixes and suffixes, produce the entire vocabulary of the language. Now out of these 1800, 335 roots have the contested cerebral letters ; 182 of which have the consonants, exclusive of *r*, 116 end in *sh*, and 37 in *ṛi* or *ṛí*. If the loan-theory were admitted, it will have to be proved that the Bráhmaṇs, though conquerors and the more civilized of the two, had to borrow one-fifth of their verbal roots from the despised aborigines, and that too at a time when the Ṛig Veda hymns were first sung by the ancient Ṛishis. This is a feat which, in the present state of philology, will not be easy of accomplishment.

Commenting on the above, Mr. Bayley, at the meeting of the Asiatic Society, said, that he could not but regret that the whole of the evidence on which the theory of Mr. Thomas was based, was not before the Society. It was of course impossible fully to judge of the merits of that theory until this was the case. Mr. Thomas's propositions were in fact two in number ;—1st, that the Aryan race generally, and the Indian branch of it in particular, borrowed and did not invent their alphabets ; and secondly, that the particular Indian alphabet, of which the earliest form was that known popularly as the "Laṭh" character, was borrowed from the Dravidian races which were in occupation of India or part of it, before the advent of the Bráhmaṇs. Now he thought, that at least the grounds on which the first proposition was based, were to some extent apparent. It was not, as Bábu Rájendralála seemed to suppose, based solely on the argument that the Aryan race having clearly borrowed alphabets in some cases, were necessarily to be considered incapable of originating one for themselves. Rájendralála, indeed, did not deny that the Aryans had borrowed alphabets from the

natives whose countries they overran, and one undeniable instance of this action on their part, was their adoption of the arrow-headed character.

As Mr. Bayley understood Mr. Thomas's assumption, however, it was at least based on better ground than Bábu Rájendralála imagined : When a nation, already sufficiently organized and powerful to overrun its neighbours, starts on a career of conquest, and, having as yet no alphabet of its own, occupies countries where an alphabet is already established, it was *à priori* improbable that it should take the trouble of inventing one of its own. Of course, it did not follow, as Rájendralála pointed out, that because the earlier Aryan hordes possessed no alphabet of their own invention, that this was necessarily the case also with later hordes, issuing from the same stock and the same "nidus," but there was a strong antecedent improbability that a race which certainly at a comparatively late period of the world's history possessed no alphabet, and was then surrounded by neighbours who did, neighbours with whom, by conquest, some sort of intercourse must have been established,—should neverthless invent rather than adopt an alphabet. Ceasing, however, to argue from pure probabilities, there was, Mr. Bayley thought, some external evidence for concluding that the Laṭh alphabet was *not* an Aryan invention, but adopted.

It was not the *only* alphabet used by the Aryan race in India : at the earliest date which could be assigned probably to any Laṭh inscription, there was another character which Mr. Bayley would call the Bactro-Páli, equally well established in Northern India, and employed to express what might be called identically the same language.

In Northern India, including Kabul, it might be said that this alphabet reigned supreme ; south of the Jumna on the other hand was the region of the Laṭh character and its branches. Intermediately between say the Jumna and the

Jhelum was a tract of debatable ground, in which, however, at the early date above mentioned, the Bactro-Pali certainly predominated on one inscription ; and many coins belonging to this tract are, however, certainly bi-literal, expressing absolutely the same words in both characters.

If it be supposed that a later emigration of the Aryan race, leaving its cradle after the invention of the Lath character, carried it with them to Central and Southern India, one or other of the following two several suppositions must necessarily be accepted, neither of which seemed at all probable in itself or supported by any evidence.

If, for example, it be supposed that the whole of the Indian Aryan branch quitted its original resting-place together, then it must be supposed that one portion abandoned its native alphabet and adopted a better one not yet solved, viz. what were the first religious civilizations in India. If it were the fact, that the early Aryans with their beliefs in gods descending from above, and in the firm existence of a golden age, and a higher state from which man descended, were met by another faith already established in India, by a school holding the doctrine of the progression of race from below upwards, and from which both the S'ivite and the Buddhist forms have sprung, then it may be that the earliest Phonetic alphabet was in the possession of this latter school. That the aboriginal Dravidian savages should have invented either the religion or the alphabet, seemed to him to be out of the question. They must have come from some foreign source. The question remained, what was that source?

Mr. Bayley explained that he had used the terms "Scythean" and "Aryan" merely as announced forms of expression, without any intention of assigning an ethnologic character of the Semites.

In reply to the above Bábu Rájendralála Mitra expressed his satisfaction to find that Mr. Bayley concurred

in the main with what he had said. He was well aware of more than one alphabet having been current in different parts of India, in writing down one language in the time of As'oka and for some centuries after it, but it did not at all serve to throw any light on the question at issue, viz., the source whence the Aryans first got their alphabet. The researches of the learned Dr. Goldstücker had clearly established that Páṇini lived many centuries before the age of As'oka, and at his time the art of writing was well-known. The root *likh*, "to write," *(aksharavinyás'e)* in his *Dhátupáṭha* was conclusive on the subject, and the question therefore was, what was the alphabet that great grammarian and his predecessors used? was it the Bactrian, or the Páli, or any other which has been replaced by the latter? There was not data sufficient to give a positive answer to this; but he felt no hesitation in giving a negative one, as regards the Bactrian. All northern languages, or rather those of cold regions, were noted for gutturals, aspirates, troublesome combinations of consonants and distinctions of long and short vowels which Byron describes as the

> "—— grunting guttural
> Which we have to hiss, spit and sputter all."

These when transferred to hot countries, soon lose their sharpness, and become soft and sweet. The history of the Sanskrit language proves this most incontestably: the sharpness and harshness and the peculiar distinctions and combination of sounds of the Vedic dialect are nowhere to be met with in the Sanskrit of the time of Buddha, and the Sanskrit of Buddhá's time was not what it became in the time of Kálidása. It underwent many changes, and most of those changes were dictated by a desire to rub off the asperities of the Vedic language for the sake of euphony.

• Now, *à priori* it would be expected that an alphabet designed for the earlier Sanskrit, or of the language as cur-

rent in the Arianian provinces, would be richer in letters than in one got up in the time of Buddha, for a great deal more stress was laid on minor distinctions of pronunciation in the pre-Vedic and the Vedic, than in later, ages, and when the first idea of alphabetic writing is once formed, no nation can be believed to be so slow as not to be able to design a sufficient number of letters to meet all their requirements. The Bactrian is avowedly not so full. Its vowels are few and imperfect, and consonants deficient; and it could not, therefore, have been originally used for a language the most remarkable for its long and short vowels, and upon which it attached so much importance.

Again, it was unknown in the history of language that men, themselves conquerors, voluntarily gave up an alphabet with which their religion was most intimately associated for many centuries, and adopt an alphabet from a conquered people, because of "its superior fitness." No amount of superiority can have any influence in such cases. Nor did Bábu Rájendralála Mitra know what the superiority was in the case of the Páli. It was not one of easy writing, for the flowing Bactrian had, in that respect, great advantages over the angular Páli; nor of fulness for it was avowed that it had not aspirates at all before the Bráhmaṇs adopted it. But were it otherwise, still there would be a doubt, if it would be after a language had been associated with a particular form of writing for a long time. The English vocalic system is imperfect in many respects, and some of its letters are obliged to do duty for half a dozen sounds, and yet it was not to be for a moment supposed that it would ever be replaced by the most perfect system of writing that is current in the world, the Sanskrit. Besides, the Sanskrit was a dead language in the time of As'oka and had been replaced by the different Prákṛits which dropped the aspirates and some of the sibilants, and rejected the distinction of long and short vowels, and that, or a little

before that, was not the time when the Bráhmaṇs would forsake their ancient alphabet for a foreign one, for the sake of its superior and more perfect system of vowels and aspirates.

APPENDIX A.

HUMAN SACRIFICE AMONG THE ATHENIANS.

REFERENCE has been made on page 53 to the Thargalia of the Athenians, at which a man and a woman were annually sacrificed to expiate the sins, of the nation. The custom was to reserve certain worthless persons whom, in case of plague, famine, or other visitations from heaven, they used to throw into the sea, in the belief that they would cleanse away or wipe off the guilt of the nation. These victims were known under the various names of *καθαρματα*, *καθαρσια*, *περικαθαρματα*, all implying expiation or cleansing—the victims through which the nation cleansed itself of its sin. They, as scape-goats for others, were also called *φαρμακοι*, *περιψηματα* and *δημόσιοι*. From the circumstance of the victims having been worthless persons *ψαρμακοι* became a term of reproach.

APPENDIX B.

THE INDIAN STYX AND ITS FERRIAGE.

The ferriage for Charon referred to on page 138, is, in modern times, paid in India in a black cow. The payment is made a short time, sometimes 2 or 3 days, before death when the rite of Vaitaraṇí is performed. The mantra for the payment says: "At the dreadful gate of death there is the burning river Vaitaraṇí; for crossing it I give this black Vaitaraṇí cow."

यमद्वारे महाघोरे तप्ता वैतरणी नदी ।
तांश्च तर्तुं ददाम्येकां कृष्णां वैतरणीञ्च गां ॥

In the ancient ritual I can find no notice of this rite, but in the Atharvaveda Sañhitá, in which almost all the verses of the burial hymn of the Ṛig Veda have been quoted with a few slight variations in the reading, there are three verses quoted which refer to crossing a river named As'manvatí. The first thereof runs thus: "Here

flows the As'manvatí, friends, dexterously and boldly cross it, leaving behind you all evils and all diseases, so that you may revel in food on the other side."

अश्मन्वती रीयते सं रभध्वं वीरयध्वं प्र तरता सखायः ।
अत्रा जहीत ये असन्दुरेवा अनमीवानुत्तरेमाभि वाजान् ॥१२।२।२६॥

This verse occurs in the Ṛig Veda, in a conversation among certain gods, and does not there refer to any funeral. I do not find also any evidence to show that the As'manvatí was in any way connected with the Vaitaraṇí. The verse, besides, is addressed to friends in the plural number, and not to the dead. It obviously, therefore, refers to the mourners and not to the dead, and that such is the case is evident from the distitch having been, with a slight change, used in the Taittiríya Áraṇyaka (VI. iii, 10) as the mantra for crossing the three trenches noticed in connexion with rite of departure home after a funeral, (p. 141). As'manvatí means 'the pebbly river,' and the trenches, it will be noticed, were lined with sand and pebbles.

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